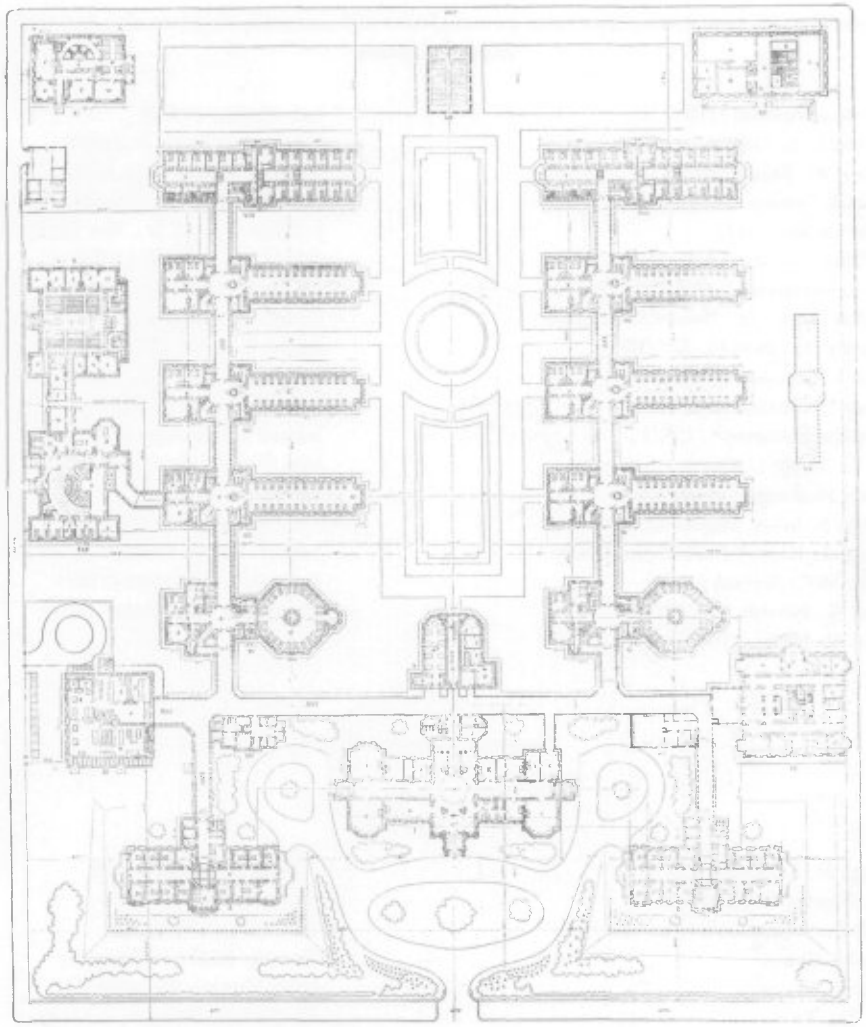
Maryland Historical Magazine



ORIGINAL BLOCK PLAN OF THE HOSPITAL
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Editor's Corner

Although every year marks the something-anniversary of some event, 1989 happens to bring with it several especially noteworthy celebrations. Our summer and fall numbers will focus attention on them. This issue, besides harking back four years to the centennial of the Druid Hill YMCA, will commemorate the sesquicentennial of the arrival of photography in Baltimore and—with special pride—the centennial of the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine. In these pages we also supply our regular bibliography of Maryland history, again the work of friends at the University of Maryland who have our thanks for the volunteered help.

Cover design: Original block plan of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, by Frederick Gutekunst. From John Shaw Billings, *Description of the Johns Hopkins Hospital* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Hospital, 1890).

Dawn of the Daguerrean Era in Baltimore, 1839–1849

ROSS J. KELBAUGH

Secure the shadow ere the substance fade,
Let nature copy that which nature made.[1]
Advertisement for Jacob Shew's
Daguerrean Gallery, 1847

On 23 March 1839 word of an "astonishing and marvellous" French discovery first appeared in a Baltimore newspaper. Few people in the city could have envisioned its impact. Louis Daguerre reportedly had developed a process by which "an exact pictorial image in light and shadow of any object" could be made on a silver plate by "means of a sort of camera obscura."[2] Miraculously, even when reduced to an inch, a picture of a house showed roof tiles and window panes in microscopic perfection. Daguerre's discovery promised to record the moon and all of the world under it in such exacting detail. News of the daguerreotype, the first widely practiced photographic medium, finally had reached Baltimore.

The year 1989 thus marks the 150th anniversary of an advancement that forever changed how we see the world—photography. Several cities were major centers for early American photography, yet the role played by Baltimoreans, either permanent or transient, has not been explored in any great depth. Ironically an industry that recorded or illustrated the growth and development of others has itself not received the same study. It is fitting, then, to acknowledge some of the people and commemorate the events that helped make the medium an integral part of the lives of Marylanders today.

Artists had tried since earliest time to capture reality in all of its infinite detail, and after the sixteenth century the camera obscura, a device that reflected a scene onto paper for tracing, served as a limited tool in efforts to copy nature. Daguerre's invention humbled these attempts. Samuel F. B. Morse, the American artist and inventor, was in France at the time of Daguerre's revelation. He requested an audience both to demonstrate his own telegraph and to view the "Daguerrotipes." Daguerre agreed reluctantly, insisting that the images would not be seen again until the French government had decided whether to purchase the secrets of his discovery. The first American to view these marvels, Morse discussed them in a letter published in the *New York Observer* and reprinted in Baltimore's *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* on 23 April 1839. He described the image as "produced on a metallic surface," the principal pieces about seven by five inches. "They resembled aquatint engravings," he reported, "for they are simple chiaroscuro and not in colors. But the exquisite minuteness of the delineation cannot be conceived. No

Mr. Kelbaugh teaches American history at Catonsville High School and is author of the recently published *Directory of Maryland Photographers, 1839–1900.*

painting or engraving can approach it." Morse, who arrived in New York on the same ship that bore his letter, said he had additional but confidential information about the discovery; he predicted that "it may not be long before we shall witness in this city the exhibition of such panoramas and portraits."[3]

On 19 August 1839, a day the world's scientific community anxiously awaited, a spokesman for the shy Daguerre revealed the secrets of making daguerreotypes to a combined meeting of the French Academies of Sciences and Fine Arts. Daguerre freely gave his method to the world (except to France's old nemesis, England, where he secured a patent to control its use). Details of the meeting and the process soon appeared in the *London Globe* and were reprinted in the *American* of 24 September 1839. The basic procedures for making the daguerreotype had arrived in Baltimore. At the same time a French-language manual detailed the steps and apparatus needed to execute daguerreotypes. Almost immediately appearing in English translation, it apparently arrived in New York on 20 September via the steamer *British Queen.* Ten days later, the first exhibition of an American daguerreotype, which D. W. Seager had just made, was announced in the New York newspapers. America caught "Daguerrean fever."

Daguerreotype experiments in Baltimore followed on the heels of New York and Philadelphia successes. On 31 October 1839 the *American* hailed the first images taken in the city:

> We have examined some specimens of the Daguerreotype, executed in this city by Mr. JAMES GREEN, Philosophical Instrument Maker, No. 1 S. Liberty Street. The pictures represent each a single object. The most distinct is that of the large house upon the corner of Baltimore and Liberty streets taken from the window of Mr. Green's establishment upon a copper plate of some four inches by three. The outlines of the image are perfect, and the letters of the signs attached to the building are tolerably distinct, particularly the name of CHAS. H. CARROLL on the upper part of the house which is occupied by Messrs. Carroll & Tinges.
>
> Mr. Green was assisted in his experiments by Mr. THOS. PHILLIPS. The details and modes of preparation were mostly of his own device in those particulars wherein the French accounts of the process were not minute. The light was received upon a prepared surface of muriate of silver precipitated upon a brass plate—not a silver plated surface as was the case in some of the French experiments. The impression is made permanent by a coating of varnish which protects the delicate tracery from the action of the atmosphere, and fixes the image in all its original distinctness.

Green, a man highly regarded for his ingenuity and industry, continued his experiments with the new process. His images compared favorably to those produced in New York and Philadelphia. Of the first daguerreotypes exhibited in these three cities, apparently only one taken by Joseph Saxton in Philadelphia survived; the Baltimore plates were lost to posterity.

After a description of Daguerre's operation provided material for a special supplement to the *New York Observer* of 3 November 1839, guides to the process appeared in numerous American newspapers. William E. A. Aiken, professor of chemistry and pharmacy at the University of Maryland, wrote one of the earliest American manuals (now in the collection of the Peabody Institute). First published in the *Maryland Medical and Surgical Journal* of April 1840, the "Notice of the Daguerreotype" discussed the steps involved in making the daguerreotype along with illus-

trations of the necessary equipment. Aiken admitted that his experiments had yet to prove successful. He noted, however, that his friend Green had "produced some of the most beautiful impressions that have hitherto been obtained."[4]

The earliest daguerreotypes usually depicted buildings, landscapes, and other stationary objects. Morse mentioned that his first attempt required the silver plate to be exposed in his primitive camera for fifteen minutes—far too long for making portraits of people. New developments soon brought this goal within grasp. On 12 March 1840 the Baltimore *Sun* reported that a young New York artist, Alexander Wolcott, had made advances in the daguerrean process which enabled him to make images with an exposure time of only one minute. Wolcott's improvements included a camera that used a concave reflector instead of a lens to focus the image on a silver plate eight inches away. Grinding glass for the device was a feat some had thought impossible, but it was finally accomplished by Henry Fitz, Jr., a locksmith and later a renowned telescope maker. Wolcott's design became the first patented American camera, and by March 1840 Wolcott and his associates were making daguerreotype portraits in New York for four dollars each. The *American* ranked this achievement "as a result second in importance only to the first discovery of the art itself. To transfer the aspect of the living countenance to a permanent tablet, as perfect and as true as the image of the same face reflected in the mirror, is an achievement as wonderful as it is gratifying. We shall await with much interest, an opportunity of witnessing a practical illustration of what we must now believe, upon authentic affirmation."[5]

FIGURE 1. Portrait of Henry Fitz, Jr., who in 1840 opened the first daguerreotype studio in Maryland. His eyes were closed to avoid blinking; exposure of the silver plate took several minutes during earliest experiments with the daguerreotype process. (History of Photography Collection, Smithsonian Institution.)

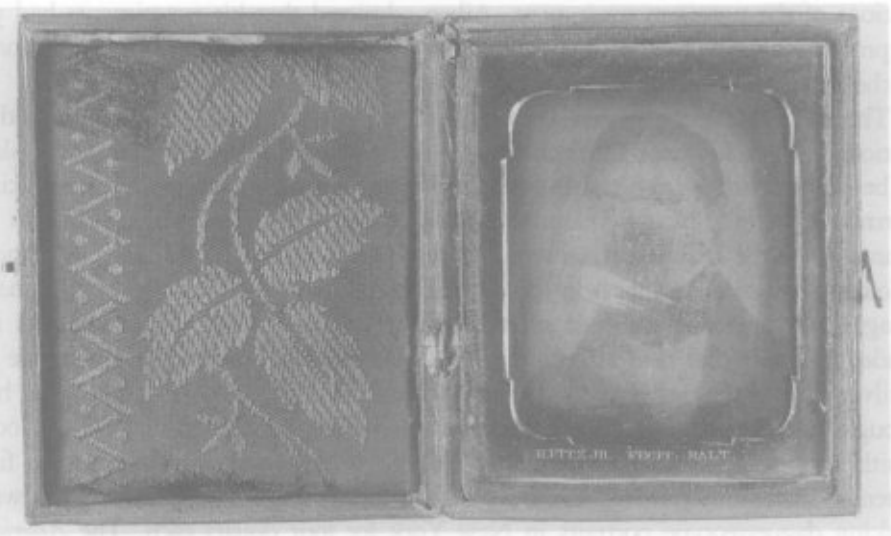

FIGURE 2. Daguerreotype from Fitz's Baltimore studio still in its original "miniature" case. Few images have survived from Baltimore's first daguerrean studio. (Author's collection.)

Baltimoreans did not have to wait much longer to see their first daguerreotypes. On 18 April 1840 newspaper advertisements called attention to an exhibit that changed the perspectives of an age and set the stage of development of what became one of the city's noted businesses. For one week a daguerrean disciple treated Baltimore to views of New York, Washington, D.C., and Baltimore—landscapes, public buildings, statues, flowers, and portraits of the secretary of war and other prominent figures. Pictures and equipment with all of the recent American improvements were for sale. The exhibition cost only twenty-five cents, a demonstration another fifty. Crowds flocked to view specimens of the "wonderful invention." The editors of the *Sun* described themselves

> much gratified and surprised at the astonishing accuracy with which objects are delineated, every mark and line on the original being found on the plate, the shading and perspective such as the most talented artist could scarcely effect. . . . The proprietor, Mr. Seixeas [*sic*], should be liberally encouraged and rewarded for the expense and trouble he has incurred in furnishing our citizens with an opportunity of witnessing one of the most surprising discoveries of the age.[6]

In a much-touted lecture, Seixas demonstrated the daguerrean process and praised the usefulness of the new invention. Impaired by the location of his rented hall, Seixas succeeded at least in catching an impression of the rear of a church outside a lecture-hall window and bringing it out to the crowd's delight. He also spoke of the moral effects of the invention, its accurate recording of subjects without the flattering interpretations of other pictorial arts. Members of the audience suggested that the new discovery be used to record the members of the House of Representatives in the "ardor of debate." Such an image, they deemed, "would be more ludicrous than a caricature."[7] Fortunately for Congress, many years passed before the camera's eye peered into their hallowed chamber.

The time was right to capitalize on Baltimore's interest in this new pictorial

medium, and an enterprising young man responded to the call. On 15 June 1840 the *Sun* introduced a new visitor:

> Mr. Fitz, a gentleman recently arrived from New York, has shown us specimens of his success in taking likenesses by means of the Daguerreotype. They are admirable; portraying every feature and shade of the countenance with the faithfulness of a mirror, and giving what is literally the counterfeit presentiment of nature. We understand that it is his intention, as soon as the requisite arrangements can be made, to open a room in this city, where the opportunity will be afforded our citizens of obtaining, at a reasonable price, the likenesses of themselves or their friends.

Henry Fitz, Jr., had been in New York at the fountainhead of the daguerrean process in America. He learned the technique from the earliest experimenters, who themselves had been taught by Samuel Morse. With Alexander Wolcott and his partner John Johnson, Fitz had helped to launch the first American photographic studio in that city and been instrumental in the perfection of Wolcott's patented daguerreotype camera. Sometime during the summer of 1840 Fitz found a suitable location for his studio and by September had in operation the first daguerrean room in Maryland. The *American* made note of this new addition to the city:

> The process of taking miniature likenesses with the Daguerreotype is already brought to a high degree of perfection. The apparatus which Mr. Henry Fitz, Jr. has

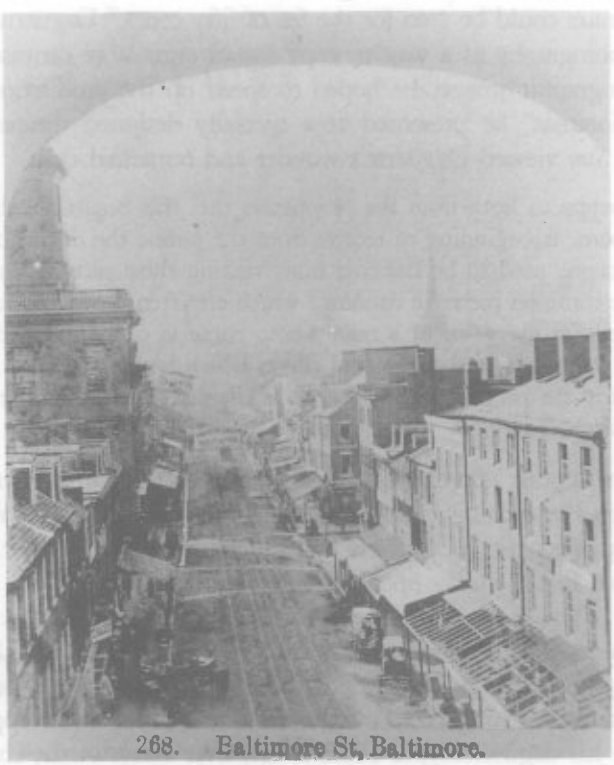

FIGURE 3. Baltimore Street, seen here looking west from the Jones Falls in the 1870s, had changed little since the reign of the daguerrean galleries. A banner over the street announced the annual fall exhibition of the Maryland Institute, the steepled building to the left. Among its many displays were the first juried exhibits of daguerreotypes in Baltimore. (Author's collection.)

> in operation every clear day, at his room on the third floor of No. 112 Baltimore Street, enables him to take a perfect likeness in less than two minutes, without the least inconvenience to the sitter. The process is as simple as it is rapid, and affords the opportunity of witnessing a practical illustration of the wonderful discovery of M. Daguerre.[8]

In November Fitz had moved from his "old stand" at 112 Baltimore Street to the corner of Baltimore and Harrison streets, where the public was respectfully invited to have a perfect likeness taken for five dollars. For an additional fifty cents, it was placed not in the usual metal frame but in a leather miniature case. His "hours of attendance" in clear weather were from 10:00 in the morning until 3:00 in the afternoon. By the spring of 1841 Fitz had returned to his original location and reduced the price of a cased daguerreotype to four dollars, a price that still made a daguerrean portrait a luxury only the well-heeled of the day could afford.

The following September Baltimoreans were entertained by another example of Louis Daguerre's achievement—one that had directly helped to bring about his photographic discovery. "Daguerre's Magical Pictures" opened on the twentieth at the Assembly Rooms, a large Fayette Street exhibition hall, where they were touted as "the only ORIGINAL DIORAMAS ever presented to the American public." Three painted canvases featured the Church of St. Etienne Du Mont at Paris with the celebration of the Midnight Mass, the crumbling of a mountain into the valley of Goldau, Switzerland, and "the magnificent view" of Venice on its Festival night. All three tableaux could be seen for the fee of fifty cents.[9] Daguerre had begun his research in photography as a way to copy scenes onto large canvases. By painting over the photographic image, he hoped to speed up the production of these large murals or "dioramas" he presented at a specially designed theater in Paris. The editors of the *Sun* viewed Daguerre's wonder and remarked that

> We are happy to learn from the proprietors that this beautiful exhibition at the Assembly room, is beginning to receive from the public the degree of patronage it deserves. No one need to be deterred from visiting these pictures by the fear that they are like common pieces of daubing, which are often called Dioramas. They are not so—they are the work of a man whose name is connected with the greatest discovery of the day, and the beautiful effects which he has produced by uniting in them the art of the painter and the science of chemist and optician, are worthy even of his reputation.[10]

After their one-month appearance in Baltimore, the dioramas went to New Orleans, where on the evening of 29 January 1843 they were destroyed by fire—the same fate Daguerre's theater in Paris had suffered four years earlier.

Shortly after Fitz's studio opened, others came to Baltimore to practice the daguerreotype. The new photographic industry joined milliners, confectioners, vendors of sheet music, jewelers, and the other businesses that lined Baltimore Street, the city's primary retail avenue. In October 1840 John G. Stevenson arrived in the city from Washington, D.C., with a new, improved apparatus that he claimed made his daguerreotypes equal to any ever taken in the country. About a year later Parker and Young opened their business at 97 Baltimore Street, beckoning patrons to "Secure the shadow e'er the substance fades / 'Tis all we can redeem from time."[11] S. Boggs, "professor of photography," followed these da-

guerreans when he opened a gallery at 255 Baltimore Street. Boggs claimed to employ all of the latest advances in the art of the daguerreotype; for three to five dollars he could secure an image in any weather in eight to thirty seconds. To those interested in the opportunities of a new occupation, he offered instruction in the art, complete with apparatus, for fifty to one hundred dollars.[12]

To meet increased competition, Fitz introduced a new feature in October 1842. For an additional charge, he would make "Colored Pictures, of a style altogether superior to any thing made in the city."[13] The daguerreotypist probably made these images by the applying of pigments with a fine brush, soon common practice. Sometime within the next few months, however, Fitz closed his daguerrean studio and returned to New York, possibly discouraged by public response to his expensive curiosity. His departure closed the earliest chapter in the city's photographic history, but the forty-eight photography galleries that lined Baltimore Street and its satellites at the time of his death in 1863 stood as monuments to his early efforts.

In May 1843 the *Sun* announced an event that presaged the expansion of a photographic empire to Baltimore. In conjunction with the Baltimore Museum at the corner of Baltimore and Calvert streets, the Irish giant Mr. O'Claney and the famed midget Tom Thumb were joined by a S. Jardin, who offered to make "Plumbe's Patent Colored Photographs" for the sum of three dollars.[14] In late 1839 John Plumbe, Jr., heard the news of the discovery of the daguerreotype in Washington, D.C., where he was lobbying for the construction of a railroad from Milwaukee to Sinipee, Wisconsin. Realizing the commercial potential of Daguerre's invention, he was "obliged to resort to taking Daguerreotype likenesses, in order to keep up the soul of the undertaking by supporting the body."[15] In 1841 he went to Boston to open the United States Photographic Institute, soon a string of gal-

FIGURE 4. Daguerreotype of Battle Monument on Calvert Street attributed to John Plumbe, Jr., or one of his employees. This image, possibly made in 1846, is among the earliest views taken in Baltimore outside the confines of a studio. (Library of Congress.)

FIGURE 5. Plumbeotype of Baltimore's Washington Monument. A larger version of this print preserves—on its reverse—the only extant copy of Plumbe's newspaper, *The Plumbeian,* dated 2 January 1847. (Michael Isekoff Collection.)

leries that spanned America from Boston to St. Louis. Plumbe had purchased the rights to a technique to color daguerreotypes from its inventor, Daniel Davis. The process involved electroplating selected areas of the silver plate with various colored metals.

Plumbe opened his newest gallery at the corner of North and Baltimore streets in November 1843 and there claimed to maintain "the oldest and most extensive establishment of the kind in the world and containing upwards of a THOUSAND PICTURES."[16] Plumbe's images, he boasted, were "officially sustained in the position of superiority heretofore universally assigned them by the public, as the most beautiful Daguerreotypes ever produced."[17] Modesty was rarely among Plumbe's many virtues. Plumbe sent Jacob Shew to manage this link in the first national photographic chain. For the next four years, Plumbe's National Gallery dominated the photographic industry in Baltimore.

The following was typical of the many reviews accorded the work of Plumbe's studio:

> Although the high praise bestowed upon the pictures of Professor Plumbe may seem exaggerated, a visit to his gallery, 205 Baltimore Street, will satisfy the most incredulous that he deserves all of the credit that he receives for his great improvements in this divine art. To those who have visited it we would say that they will be amply repaid to continue to call often, as they will always find something new. On a recent visit, we were surprised at the additions that have been made, among which we noticed *Madam Augusta,* and a view of the *Washington Monument,* taken from Charles Street.
>
> The editor of the "Western Continent," states that strangers on their arrival in

> Baltimore say, "show me your ladies." To such we would say call at Plumbe's and you will find them.[18]

Unfortunately Plumbe's daguerreotype of the Washington Monument has not yet been found, though numerous examples of his Baltimore "ladies" still exist.

On 27 October 1846 Plumbe's gallery, which in 1845 had relocated to 205 Baltimore Street, advertised a new product to correct one of the major limitations of the daguerrean art—the lack of easy reproduction. The entrepreneur announced that he had "discovered a mode of transferring Daguerreotypes to paper," and he offered to make this "new style of Portraiture" consisting of a daguerreotype and 100 papet copies available fot ten dollars.[19] This new ptocess, called the "Plumbeotype" after the unabashed developer, had been introduced in 1845. It involved the reproduction of daguerreotypes by artists onto printing stones that could be used to print the images as lithographs. This process allowed the mass production of prints based on the photographs at a price that was a fraction of the costly daguerteotype copies of the original. Thus, Baltimoreans could now obtain cheap portraits of prominent Americans such as John C. Calhoun or views of the federal Capitol and Baltimore's Washington Monument. As an added advantage, these Plumbeotypes were devoid of the reflective nature and size limitations of the daguerreotype.

As his gallery operated in Baltimore, Plumbe maintained a residence in Washington, D.C., in order to pursue his primary goal of the transcontinental railroad. Far removed from most shops in his photographic chain, he began to lose money on it; his lax administration apparently advanced the fortunes of some unscrupulous managers. In 1847 Plumbe sold off his studios to meet the demands of creditors, and that fall the Baltimore gallery stopped advertising. After failing to recoup his losses in the California gold rush, Plumbe eventually committed suicide upon learning that Congress had chosen a different route than his for the transcontinental railroad.

Throughout the era of the Plumbe National Daguerrean Gallery, other pioneers helped to "secure the shadows" of Baltimoreans. Competition and technological advances began to place the medium within the reaches of the masses. It prevailed despite setbacks like the fire that destroyed the daguerrean rooms at 163 Baltimore Street in the summer of 1843. "The indestructable nature of these miniatures can now be proved, beyond a doubt," the *Sun* reported, "as several specimens are on exhibition, having stood the test of fire and water—the frames literally burned off, where painted miniatures would have been totally destroyed."[20] The unknown daguerrean at this location concluded laconically that "fire is a good servant, but a bad master."[21]

The next spring several more daguerrean opportunists visited Baltimore to test local demand. Mr. C. Barnes established himself at 163 Baltimore Street, where he made likenesses "requiring only 30 to 60 minute[s] sitting, in any weather"[22] for the reduced price of three dollars—a claim that was possibly a typesetter's error or a reference to the entire visit needed to receive a completed specimen. By this time operators prided themselves on exposure times that lasted only a few seconds. The partnership of Charles Fontayne and William S. Porter occupied 268 Baltimore Street. Due to their recent improvements in the daguerreotype, which they made

FIGURE 6. Post-mortem daguerreotype accompanying a Baltimore newspaper clipping that announced "DIED—On Tuesday night, the 11th instant, aged 11 months and 12 days, Rose Louisa, only daughter of Horatio D. and Maria Louisa Hewitt." (Author's collection.)

in five to thirty seconds, "the sickly and deathly hue has given place to the healthy and natural color."[23] By 1846 these entrepreneurs had moved to Ohio. There they completed a daguerreotype panorama of the Cincinnati waterfront which they exhibited in London in 1851. Assuming Henry Fitz's old address on Baltimore Street in May 1844, a man only identified as Robinson offered daguerreotypes in three sizes for two to four dollars.[24] Medium or "ordinary size" was probably about $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, a very popular format in Baltimore.

The following year new trends emerged in the local daguerrean trade. The partnership of Thomlinson and Padre broke away from the Baltimore Street concentration of galleries when they opened at 10 Charles Street. There they exhibited examples "which for beauty, distinctness and accuracy, the proprietors challenge competition"; the images were "warranted to your perfect satisfaction or the money will be returned."[25] The biggest price reductions first appeared in March 1846 when Frederick S. Baker at 20 North Street advertised "Daguerreotype Portraits for One Dollar, with neat Morocco Case." These, too, were to be "satisfactory or no charge."[26] Compared to the cost of a painted portrait, daguerreotypes truly brought immortality within reach of common people. Baker later moved to 23 Baltimore Street, where he offered "the new discovery of Talbotypes, a mode of transferring Daguerreotypes to paper . . . at the rate of 100 facsimile copies for eight dollars, including the original daguerreotype."[27] He remained active in Baltimore until the mid-1850s.

"The oldest establishment in the city" was the claim in September of 1846 as B. F. King introduced his new gallery at 217 Baltimore Street. Though King's accuracy was questionable, longevity did help practitioners of the infant medium to gain a competitive edge. King's studio was purported to contain a "light expressly adopted to the Art, the most superior Apparatus, and certain chemicals, the propri-

FIGURE 7. Daguerrean portrait from the sutdio of J. Wistar Davis, who operated in Baltimore from 1847 to 1849. Unfortunately daguerreotypes that label local artists and/or subjects are uncommon, and their identities often remain lost in time. (Author's collection.)

etor, by giving his constant personal attention to his profession, has enabled to produce the most correct and beautifully toned DAGUERRIAN MINIATURES that have ever been exhibited."[28] By the fall of 1847, a "GREAT IMPROVEMENT IN LIGHT!!!" was announced, "by which the eye, the Dress, and every expression of the face, is distinctly, naturally and beautifully represented, in a few seconds of time."[29] Numerous reviews of this daguerreotypist's work followed: the *Methodist Protestant* apparently had declared that "Mr. King, as an artist, has perhaps no superior in his class."[30] King's notice recommended that "strangers should be sure to secure one of these Pictures (so much admired) before they leave the city."[31] In October of 1848 the artist thanked those who had patronized him for so long and "recommended his recent improvements to the favorable notice of those who prefer a finished DAGUERREOTYPE TO THE DIRTY SHADOWS OF HUMBUG PRETENDERS IN THE ART."[32] This statement signaled the beginning of the intense competitiveness and often libelous advertising that characterized the business during the following decade.

Women played a part in this competitive industry. In 1848 Mrs. Thomas Ruckle became the first recorded female daguerreotypist in Baltimore when she announced that the Lawrence Daguerrean Gallery at 207½ Baltimore Street had been set up "in a room adjoining his (Mr. Ruckle's) Painting Room, which will be conducted by Mrs. Ruckle, under his immediate supervision."[33] Mrs. B. F. King assumed control of her husband's business in 1849 and ran it until early 1850. By August of that year W. H. Bokee and A. F. Judlin had taken over the business and announced continuation of "the OLDEST ESTABLISHMENT in the CITY."[34] The Kings disappeared from Baltimore.

During the reign of the Kings' gallery, competition among the growing number of local studios forced daguerreans to promote any advantage that could help them attract the local trade. J. C. Nairne at 1 North Calvert Street claimed to have learned the process from Daguerre himself. Mr. Moulton at 81 Baltimore Street

made "use of the Galvanic Battery, which insures a perfect eye and natural color, used altogether by the celebrated operators of Philadelphia to great success."[35] John P. Mullan placed immortality within the reach of more citizens when he offered his "Daguerreotypes for a Dollar"[36] at the corner of Baltimore and South streets. Jones's Daguerrean Gallery at 159 Baltimore Street employed an "Improved Combined Sky and Side Light" so arranged that "light and shade can be blended with the utmost harmony."[37] E. C. Howell offered a new service to the community from his establishment on the southeast corner of Gay and Front streets when he promised that portraits of "INVALIDS and the DEAD [were] attended to promptly wherever desired."[38] The need for lasting images of those who had died and might not have been photographed in life made the post-mortem business an important segment of the local photographer's trade.

Another aggressive member of the local daguerrean trade appeared early in 1847 at the northeast corner of North and Baltimore streets, where J. Wistar Davis claimed "THE BEST LIGHT IN BALTIMORE . . . for taking splendid DAGUERREOTYPE portraits than any other establishment." Assisted by William Coward, "whose skill as an artist is well known,"[39] this team joined the ranks of the more aggressive studios in town. Davis claimed to have solved the problems related to "the imperfection of the eye in the Daguerreotype. By use of an entirely new chemical process, altogether with the best light in the city, PORTRAITS, remarkable for their life-like appearance and perfection of the eye—that organ having as much force and expression in the picture as in the original—are taken in from five to ten seconds."[40] As a result, "the ladies, the press and the public generally with one accord, award to Davis's Daguerreotypes the first rank in point of excellence."[41] This gallery remained active until the end of the decade. In March of 1850 Palmer L. Perkins advertised as the "Successor to Davis' Sky Light Room." He also then complained that "a whole-plate daguerreotype of a lady, put in a glass frame imitation of marble" and "two pictures of Dr. Valentine, in the character of the 'Long Islander,' and the other, 'One of the B'hoys,' as well as several other valuable specimens"[42] had disappeared from the doorway of his new studio. Evidently appreciation of photography in Baltimore was beginning to transcend mere sentimentality.

"What is a Crayon Daguerreotype? It is the producing on a silver plate by Improved Daguerreotype process, a PICTURE resembling a fine Crayon Drawing of Mezzotint Engraving."[43] With this notice in July 1849 a pioneer of western photography marked the beginning of his Baltimore portrait business. Solomon Nunes Carvalho, an artist from Charleston, South Carolina, opened his first gallery at 205 Baltimore Street, earlier the site of John Plumbe's studio. There Carvalho proceeded to carry on a short-lived but notable association with the Monumental City. The portraitist informed the public "that he had erected a building, with a combination of sky and side lights, where he can (from his knowledge of light and shadow, having made it his study for fifteen years) produce Daguerreotype LIKENESSES which will compare with any taken in the U. States."[44] Carvalho described his gallery as

handsomely fitted up; and for the amusement of visitors, a Guitar and superior toned Piano Forte, from the manufactory of Wise & Brother, has been placed in the reception room. A Private dressing room has been provided for ladies. Likenesses taken in any weather. Post-mortem cases attended to with care and promptness.[45]

Upon reviewing Carvalho's works, local observers described them as "justly admired for their truthful likenesses, classical arrangement, and beautiful tone."[46] By March 1850 the cost of these "truthful likenesses" had been reduced to $1.50 "in order to enable those who wish good daguerreotypes, to obtain them at the price of the ordinary, and consequently useless ones."[47] Carvalho drew the line that separated his gallery and the other more expensive "artistic" studios from the emerging "cheap" trade. One of Carvalho's technical contributions to the photographic arts, "Ivory Daguerreotypes," appeared in August of 1850. Evidently images on enameled plates, they provided "a new and beautiful style of picture, resembling a miniature painted ivory, which for beauty and tone of finish cannot be surpassed, and supercede [*sic*] entirely the necessity of these expensive Miniature Painting, which these imitate."[48]

Carvalho's career was as colorful as a crayon daguerreotype. Late in 1850 he moved his business to Washington, D.C., and then to Charleston. In 1853 he accompanied John C. Fremont, western explorer and later presidential candidate, on his fifth expedition in search of viable transcontinental railroad routes. Carvalho was among the first photographers to record the frontier. Returning to Baltimore, he resumed his work in portrait painting (though apparently not in photography) and continued until 1860, when he moved to New York to open a gallery. From there he endorsed in the Baltimore press "Dr. John Bull's Sarsaparilla"—a tonic that had restored his health when, with Fremont, he had suffered "from disease incidental to great exposure and abstinence from wholesome and proper food" and become "almost a skeleton."[49] Carvalho lived in New York until his death in 1889.

FIGURE 8. Daguerreotype portrait of Solomon Nunes Carvalho. Few images of Baltimore's early photographic pioneers survive. (Library of Congress Collection.)

Plumbe's National Gallery in Baltimore spawned another studio that exerted important influence on the growing photographic community in the city. Jacob Shew, Plumbe's former principal operator, was a member of a pioneering family of daguerreans who were eventually instrumental in establishing the new art in California. From his business at 117 Baltimore Street, he beckoned audiences with another variant of the popular couplet: "Secure the shadow ere the substance fade / Let nature copy that which nature made."[50] Shew had left his position at Plumbe's in May 1846. From his own studio he promoted his "not to be excelled DAGUERREOTYPE MINIATURES," boasting that he had recently redecorated his rooms "in a style which cannot fail to make them at least comfortable and pleasant to all who may be pleased to call and examine his large collection of unequaled specimens."[51] Examples of his work were judged as

> fine specimens of the Daguerrian art as have ever been produced in our city; and we would recommend all, who have faces worth preserving, to give Mr. Shew an opportunity to exercise his skill in making them imperishable.[52]

Many a Baltimorean must have considered his or her visage worthy, for Shew expanded his business within a year by forming a partnership with Harvey R. Marks. The firm pledged "to take such likenesses as cannot fail to please the most fas'idious."[53]

In 1848 the first annual fair of the Maryland Institute in Baltimore displayed the achievements of local industries. Noted today as a school for training in the fine arts of painting, sculpture, print making, and photography, the institute then trained students in the mechanical trades. Items exhibited at the fair ranged from corn cob crushers and moleskin hats to teeth filled with gold and direct-action steam pumps. Daguerreans entered examples of their work for the first local juried display, and at the second exhibition a year later Baltimoreans captured awards in this category. Shew & Marks won the highest prize, offering "conclusive evidence, if any were

FIGURE 9. Daguerreotype from the studio of Henry Pollock. Children posed a particular problem for the daguerreotypist since they were unlikely to sit still even for several seconds of exposure time. (Author's collection.)

wanting, of the superiority of their pictures. They possess a richness of tone and perfection of finish, seldom equaled," declared the *Sun,* "and for true resemblance to nature, cannot be surpassed."[54]

The award-winning partnership lasted but a short time longer. In March or April of 1850 Shew departed for New York, where he later bought the gallery of Samuel Van Loan, and in 1854 he traveled to California to open a studio in Sacramento. His former partner requested "those wanting perfect likenesses" to call at his studio, "where the most superior pictures can be obtained on reasonable terms."[55] Marks carried on his business at the old Shew & Marks location until March 1851 when he sold the shop to the operator of Bell's One Dollar Daguerreotypes and relocated to 159 Baltimore Street. From there, he continued to capture "the human face divine."[56] At the Maryland Institute Fair of 1850 Marks Daguerean Gallery won a silver medal, and the studio claimed "to receive the preference of a large class of our community."[57] By the summer of 1853 Marks's advertisements had disappeared from Baltimore newspapers.

In 1849 two new daguerrean studios opened on Baltimore Street. Despite their commonality of purpose, they demonstrated new diversity and its resulting competitiveness. Early in November of that year notices appeared for a photographic gallery at 147 Lexington Street, where those "in want of a first-rate picture . . . [should] call at the well known and popular Daguerrian Rooms."[58] Customers

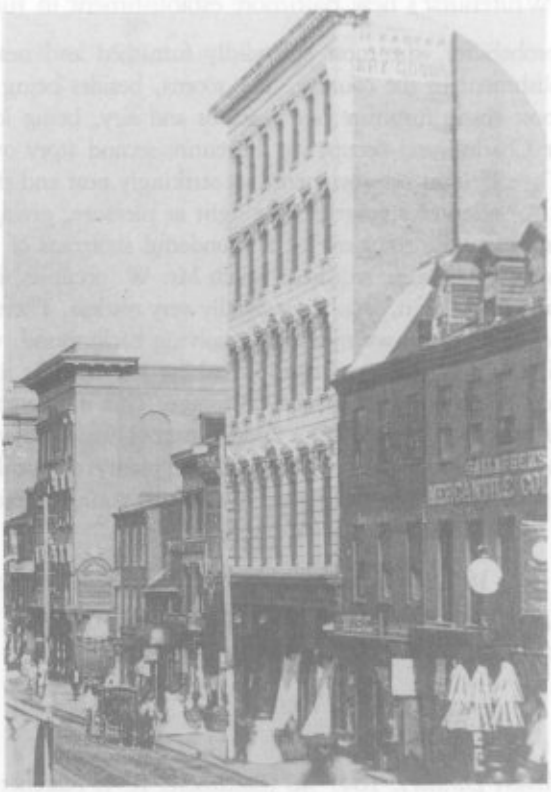

FIGURE 10. The building to the left of Gallagher's Mercantile College at 205 W. Baltimore Street, seen here as it appeared in the 1870s, was one of the most active studio locations in town. John Plumbe, Jr., Solomon N. Carvalho, and Jesse Whitehurst were among the seven different proprietors who used this location between 1845 and 1865. A roof skylight provided the illumination needed for studio portraiture. (Author's collection.)

would find the sky light "unsurpassed. This, together with the excellent work, moderate prices and exceedingly accommodating rules, has made it the most popular establishment in the city."[59] The operator, Henry Pollock, recently had embarked on a career that spanned the daguerrean and wet-plate photographic eras (his studio remained open until 1889, making him the most enduring of Baltimore's photographic pioneers). In January of 1850 he relocated to 155 Baltimore Street. Pollock claimed to maintain "one of the best, full sized cameras in the world—the most conveniently arranged and elegantly furnished rooms, with a private dressing apartment for ladies, in charge of one of their own sex."[60] Never one of the flamboyant studios in the city, Pollock's became especially popular among Baltimore society. The Maryland Institute Fair awarded him a silver medal for "Daguerreotype groups" during the 1850 exhibition, and in 1851, he received the second-place medal for his entries. This award placed him behind the photographer who became one of Pollock's most aggressive competitors during the next fifteen years.

In June 1849 a "new and extensive" daguerrean gallery opened at 207½ Baltimore Street (formerly the Lawrence Gallery), again making the Monumental City a link in a national chain of studios. Jesse H. Whitehurst, riding on the six-year success of his Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia, galleries—where he employed "twenty-one assistants, and is now taking the rate of eleven thousand likenesses annually"[61]—had added Baltimore to his growing list of studios. Members of the local press visited Whitehurst's new Baltimore establishment in July and remarked:

> This is, in all probability, the most splendidly furnished and neatly constructed Daguerrian establishment in the country. The rooms, besides being superbly decorated with the most costly furniture, are spacious and airy, being located in Baltimore Street, near Charles, and occupying the entire second story over the store of Howell & Bro. The sky light improvements are strikingly neat and efficient—being so constructed as to soften or strengthen the light at pleasure, giving a tone to the picture that is sure to please the sitter. The wonderful shortness of time (two, and sometimes only one second being required) which Mr. W. occupies, insures a correct likeness; particularly of children, who are generally very restless. There is also another improvement worthy of notice; we mean the revolving background, which gives the airiness to the picture not to be surpassed—making the face, as it were, advance from the plate, and stand out as if it were an image. This improvement is claimed by Mr. W., and by him patented. Our friends cannot while away an hour more agreeably than in this new Gallery. They will see plenty of familiar faces—and those, too, so life-like that they almost seem to speak to you. The proprietor and his assistants will be found attentive, skillful and obliging.[62]

By the end of the 1840s a scientific discovery imported from abroad only a decade before had given rise to commercial ventures that were part and parcel of the Baltimore community.

NOTES

1. *Matchett's Baltimore Directory, 1847–48* (Baltimore: R. J. Matchett, 1847).
2. Baltimore *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser,* 23 March 1839.
3. For the discovery of the daguerreotype, see Helmut and Allison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969); Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene* (New York: MacMillan & Co., 1938; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publi-

cations, 1964); and Beaumont Newhall, *The Daguerreotype in America* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1961; reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1976). The daguerreotype process involved treating a highly polished silver plate (usually copper that had been plated with silver) with the vapors of iodine, which made it light sensitive. After exposure in a camera, the plate was treated with vapors of heated mercury, causing the image to appear. After several washings with solutions that fixed the image and increased its brilliance, the plate was dried. The resulting daguerreotype was colorless, and several techniques could be employed to tint the image by hand. It then had a thin mat and cover glass placed over it, to protect the extremely delicate surface from scratching, and was ready for the customer.

4. William E. A. Aiken, *Notice of the Daguerreotype* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1840), p. 13.

5. Baltimore *American,* 23 April 1840.

6. Baltimore *Sun,* 27 April 1840.

7. Ibid., 1 May 1840. Professor Seixas remains a mysterious figure in the early years of photography in America. It is not known how he learned the daguerreotype process or what became of him after his lecture circuit in 1840. He mounted his daguerreotype exhibition in Washington, D.C., in March of 1840 at the American Hotel before he journeyed to Baltimore.

8. *American,* 2 September 1840.

9. *Sun,* 20 September 1841. The double-effect Diorama, like those exhibited in Baltimore, was introduced by Daguerre in 1834. A single canvas was painted with a complementing scene on each side. With the use of reflected and projected lighting, two different illusions could be created. A scene could appear to shift from daylight to moonlight or an empty church could be filled with people by altering the illumination from the front to the back of the canvas.

10. Ibid., 22 September 1841.

11. Ibid., 26 November 1841.

12. Ibid., 9 March 1842.

13. Ibid., 27 October 1842.

14. Ibid., 29 May 1843.

15. *The Plumbeian,* vol. 1, no. 2. Initially it was believed that Plumbe published only one issue of his newspaper. A second number of the publication has been recently discovered printed on the back of a Plumbeotype of Baltimore's Washington Monument in the Peale Museum's collection.

16. *Sun,* 27 November 1843.

17. Ibid.

18. Baltimore *Republican and Daily Argus,* 3 January 1846.

19. *American,* 27 October 1846.

20. *Sun,* 4 August 1843. The *Sun* was most consistent in carrying news and advertisements concerning the early years of Baltimore photography, and serves as the basic source for this research. Where applicable, other publications were consulted as well. None of the local daguerreans left memoirs that describe their experiences in Baltimore during this period. Evidence of the public's reaction to this new medium is limited to newspaper accounts and the daguerreotypes that still exist.

21. One of the greatest hazards faced by the early photographic pioneers was fire due to the flammability of the chemicals used in picture making. Studios of several of the local photographic fraternity suffered conflagrations over the ensuing decades.

22. *Sun,* 29 April 1844.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., 29 May 1844.

25. Ibid., 26 April 1845.
26. Ibid., 7 March 1846.
27. Ibid., 2 November 1846. The Talbotype (calotype), which followed on the heels of the announcement of Daguerre's discovery, was invented in England by Henry Fox Talbot. This process basically involved the making of a paper negative (glass and flexible film were still some time off) from which positive prints were made on light-sensitive paper. It was patented in the United States on 26 June 1847, but it never really displaced the daguerreotype in this country. What Baker described in his advertisement appeared to be the Plumbeotype. Unfortunately, no examples of his "Talbotypes" have been located.
28. Ibid., 19 September 1846. During the early years of the daguerreotype, several spellings for "daguerrean" existed. For continuity, this form is used here except in quotations where other versions were found.
29. Ibid., 21 October 1847.
30. Ibid., 23 May 1848.
31. Ibid., 10 November 1848.
32. Ibid., 19 October 1848.
33. Ibid., 27 October 1848.
34. Ibid., 24 August 1850.
35. Ibid., 16 May 1848.
36. Ibid., 27 December 1849.
37. Ibid., 3 March 1850. During the first four decades of photography, studios used natural light to make an image. A skylight above the gallery combined with interior reflectors created the balance of light and shadow necessary to make a portrait.
38. Ibid., 15 November 1847.
39. Ibid., 13 February 1847.
40. Ibid., 3 June 1847.
41. Ibid., 28 April 1848.
42. Ibid., 30 March 1850. A full-plate daguerreotype measured about $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches and required a special camera to accommodate such a large plate size. Only a few of Baltimore's daguerreans were equipped with this apparatus.
43. Ibid., 14 July 1849.
44. *American,* 17 July 1849.
45. *The Baltimore Advertiser and Business Circular* (Baltimore: William H. Fagan, 1850), p. 45.
46. *Sun,* 20 August 1849.
47. Ibid., 4 March 1850.
48. *American,* 2 August 1850.
49. *Sun,* 30 May 1855.
50. *Matchett's Baltimore Directory, 1846–1847.*
51. *Sun,* 9 March 1848.
52. Ibid., 29 May 1848.
53. Ibid., 21 May 1849.
54. Ibid., 24 October 1849.
55. Ibid., 3 April 1850.
56. Ibid., 8 May 1850.
57. Ibid., 12 December 1851.
58. Ibid., 10 November 1849.
59. Ibid., 13 November 1849.
60. Ibid., 11 January 1850.
61. *American,* 20 June 1849.
62. *Sun,* 21 July 1849.

John Shaw Billings: Unsung Hero of Medicine at Johns Hopkins

A. McGEHEE HARVEY AND SUSAN L. ABRAMS

> It seems to me that this school should aim to produce quality, and not quantity; and that the seal of its diploma should be a guarantee that its possessor is not only a well-educated physician, in the fullest sense of the word, but that he has learned to think and investigate for himself, and is therefore prepared to undertake, without danger of failure from not knowing how to begin, the study of some of the problems still awaiting solution.
>
> *John Shaw Billings, 1875*

John Shaw Billings's thoughts about the still-imaginary Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine tell us much about the man and something about the times in which he wrote. The occasion of his remarks was a letter to the trustees of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, which, like the medical school, was still being planned. It is clear from these remarks that Billings had formulated an entire philosophy of medical education and that he had great hopes for this embryonic medical school. Also implicit in his comments is the idea that other medical schools at the time were producing relatively large numbers of physicians who were not well-educated and not intellectually self-sufficient. In fact, Billings envisioned this new medical school and hospital as the culmination of his hopes for practice, teaching, and scientific investigation in American medicine.

As Johns Hopkins medicine celebrates its centennial, the luminaries that the public connects most closely with its development are Daniel Coit Gilman, the university's first president, and the famous four doctors who constituted the original clinical faculty: William Osler, William S. Halsted, William H. Welch, and Howard A. Kelly. It is little known that John Shaw Billings appeared on the scene much earlier than the "four doctors." Moreover, the best known of his works in Baltimore, the design of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, overshadows his less well known, yet pioneering, contributions to Gilman's program of medical education and research in the university. Most important, Billings saw the design of the hospital and the goals of the medical school as inseparably linked: "The plan of the hospital must depend upon the extent to and the manner in which it is to be used as an instrument of medical education, and upon the more or less intimate connection which it is to have with the Medical School."[1]

Billings's contributions helped to stimulate the revolution in medical practice,

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FIGURE 1. John Shaw Billings in his Georgetown study. (National Library of Medicine.)

education, and research that took place at Johns Hopkins in the late nineteenth century. Billings thus played a vital part not only in designing and constructing the hospital but also in shaping the philosophy of the medical school. The range and weight of Billings's gifts were documented by William Henry Welch, who identified him as America's most important contributor to medical progress.[2]

John Shaw Billings was born on 12 April 1838 in Switzerland County, Indiana. Books were what interested him in his youth, and he read everything available. He made an arrangement with his father that if he was given financial help to attend college, all of the family property should go to his sister and he would expect nothing more. At the age of fourteen, he spent a year mastering some books on Greek and a geometry text. With a few other aids, he equipped himself to pass the entrance examination at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, in 1852.

Most of his time at college was spent in the library. Given his catholic tastes, he read widely in all fields, including philosophy, theology, natural science, history, geography, and fiction. Billings received the B.A. degree in 1857, graduating at the age of nineteen with the second highest honor in his class—the delivery of the Latin salutatory. Billings's professor of Greek described him as "a young man of very superior talents and extensive acquirements" and added, "I have observed, moreover, that he possesses great facility in communicating what he knows."[3] This asset was to be one of Billings's greatest strengths in the pursuit of his career.

In 1858 Billings entered the Medical College of Ohio, the tenth medical college to be founded in this country. The Medical College of Ohio was little different from others in existence at the time. The course consisted of two identical five-month series of lectures, given in successive years. Billings remembered that he did not attend these lectures with regularity but found that by reading the textbooks he could learn more in the same time and with less difficulty. He spent most of his time not in the lecture hall but in the dissecting room and the clinic. At the end of

his first year of study, Billings became a resident in St. John's Hospital in Cincinnati. He was left practically alone for the next six months, as the staff paid little attention to medical students during the summertime when there was no formal teaching. Billings later commented on this experience: "In those days they taught medicine as you teach boys to swim, by throwing them into the water."[4]

The most significant requirement for graduation, in terms of Billings's subsequent career, may have been the writing of a dissertation. In preparing his thesis, Billings set out to assemble all of the results of surgical operations for the treatment of epilepsy. To review the original sources, he had to go to all of the libraries in Cincinnati, public and private, to which he could gain access. Most of the volumes he needed could not be found there, and his further search extended to libraries in Philadelphia, New York, and elsewhere.

Many months of intense drudgery, including a great deal of time-consuming correspondence, gave Billings a fresh perspective on the problems of medical bibliography in the United States. He estimated that more than 100,000 volumes of books and journals on medicine were in circulation, not counting pamphlets and reprints. It had taken him much time and labor to search through a thousand volumes of medical books and journals for items on a particular subject, and he had found that the indexes of such books and journals were unreliable as a guide to their content. Worse still, nowhere in the United States was there a library in which a student might hope to find a large part of the literature relating to any subject on medicine. To verify references given by European medical writers, or to make reasonably certain that one had before him all that had been seen or done by previous observers or investigators on a given subject, it was necessary to go to Europe and visit not merely one but several of the great capital cities. Billings concluded: "It was this experience which led me when a favourable opportunity offered at the close of the war, to try to establish, for the use of American physicians, a fairly complete medical library, and in connection with this to prepare a comprehensive catalogue and index which would spare medical teachers and writers the drudgery of consulting ten thousand or more different indexes, or of turning over the leaves of as many volumes to find the dozen or so references of which they might be in search."[5]

The Civil War had just begun when Billings finished medical school, and instead of embarking on a surgical practice in Cincinnati, he decided to enter the military. Billings was commissioned first lieutenant and assistant surgeon in 1862. When he began his army service he had three things that none of the other surgeons possessed: a set of thermometers "like those Dr. Keene talked about," a straight one and one with a curve; a hypodermic syringe (Alexander Wood had invented the hypodermic syringe in 1853, and in 1861 very few physicians had ever seen one); and a Symes staff for urethral stricturotomy.[6] (Narrowing of the urethra was a common complication of gonorrhea; passing the staff through the narrowed portion of the urethra allowed the urine to flow through again.)

Billings served in army hospitals for some twenty-one months. He was stationed at Union Hospital in Georgetown in the summer of 1862 when he received orders to move all patients and property from Union Hospital to the Cliffburne Barracks, near Georgetown, and to turn the barracks into a hospital. It was at Cliffburne that his interest in hospital construction and design, public health, and medical admin-

istration surfaced. Previously occupied by the 5th U.S. Cavalry, the Cliffburne Barracks were filthy and dilapidated. Billings immediately set in motion a program of reconstruction, introducing important sanitary reforms. Assisted by fifteen sisters of charity, Billings cared for many of the Union and Confederate wounded. At Cliffburne, Billings also performed nearly all of the surgical procedures.[7]

Billings also served in the field for a full year, attaining the rank of lieutenant colonel by war's end. His courage and ability were notable at Chancellorsville and at Gettysburg, where, under artillery fire, he and his assistants cared for the wounded night and day. He performed a prodigious amount of surgery during the war, including all of the major operations done before the discovery of antisepsis, and some less common ones as well.

In August 1864 Billings was relieved from duty in the field and assigned to the Washington office of the medical director of the Army of the Potomac. There he helped to edit the field reports that subsequently became the body of the document known as "The Medical and Surgical History of the War." Four months later, he was transferred to the surgeon general's office of the War Department, where he was to remain for the next thirty years, until he retired from active service in the army. It was in this office that his real life's work began.[8]

The war thus gave Billings extensive clinical experience, but in addition, many of his duties gave him the background in administration and organization essential to his later career. During the latter part of the war he was essentially a medical inspector for the Union Army. Moving from place to place on horseback, he kept a strict eye on medical care for the entire Army of the Potomac. He was responsible for collecting medical statistics, supervising the distribution of ambulances and supplies for the wounded, writing telegrams, helping to frame orders, overseeing the collection of pathological specimens, sending wounded and infectious soldiers from field hospital to base hospital as quickly as possible, and sometimes even operating in difficult cases. Billings's skill in improvising messages of unmistakable clearness and precision won for him the praise of his superiors and fixed his future ideal of a literary style as concise as a telegram.[9]

This telegraphic style marked Billings's "Report on the Treatment of Diseases and Injuries in the Army of the Potomac During 1864," a document prepared during his first year in the surgeon general's office. His report began with an account of the current army methods of hospital organization and administration; detailed the mode of collecting, transporting, and caring for the wounded during an engagement; gave some interesting observations on sunstroke, scurvy, and typhomalarial fever during the campaign; and concluded with a thorough critique of the surgery performed in field hospitals, which he pronounced "unprecedently good."[10]

After the war ended, Billings was given several important new responsibilities. First, he was placed in charge of the collection of books known as the Library of the Surgeon General's Office, a task that marked the beginning of his work in medical bibliography. Second, he was sent by the secretary of the treasury to inspect and

report upon the condition of the marine hospitals throughout the country. Billings's study opened the way to the creation of the U.S. Public Health Service, whose hygienic laboratory, established in 1912, was the forerunner of the National Institutes of Health. Billings proposed a plan for reorganizing the service that removed army and marine hospitals from their political base and subjected them to military methods of organization and discipline. The Marine Hospital Service consequently reached a high level of efficiency, gradually expanding its activities in research as well as in the management of infectious diseases.

Billings's inspection of the Marine Hospital Service, which occupied him intermittently from 1870 to 1875, culminated in the publication of two monumental surveys, "Barracks and Hospitals" and "The Hygiene of the United States Army" —his principal contributions to military medicine. They were important studies in public hygiene, a field in which he came to be known as a national authority. Billings criticized the deficiencies in bathing facilities, sleeping accommodations, and latrines in these hospitals, as well as the poor condition of the guard houses and prisons. He also discussed thoroughly the ventilation and heating, for which he recommended a "ventilating double fireplace" of his own invention consisting of two stoves placed back to back with an interspace for warming fresh air.[11]

Most important for our story, these reports also gave him the background for his design of the Johns Hopkins Hospital and the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital in Boston. His interest in hospital construction and public hygiene continued until his retirement from active service in the army in 1895. During these two decades he was regarded as the leading authority on public hygiene in the country, and his services and advice were in demand everywhere.

Billings also joined the American Public Health Association (APHA) at its founding in 1872 and was chosen as its president in 1880. He envisioned this organization as the spearhead of a national public hygiene movement, one that would replace a system of sanitation based on individual opinion and hypothesis with one based on science.

Billings's first report to the APHA concerned the need for a systematic sanitary survey of the United States, a topic made urgent by the national yellow fever epidemics of 1878 and 1879. His subsequent papers delivered at the association's annual meetings covered a wide range of public health issues—the effect of a mountain climate upon health; hospital construction; medical topography; and community rights, duties, and privileges in relation to public health. Each report represented pioneer hygienic work, far ahead of its time, undertaken in a day when there were no uniform quarantine regulations in the United States and when only ten states in the Union had even a rudimentary system of vital statistics.[12]

Billings was interested in standardizing both quarantine laws and the registration of death and diseases. A national registration system, he believed, would be the first step toward licensing physicians who would perform autopsies and thus certify the nature of disease and causes of death. Yet he was also a practical man who realized that the country might not be ready for federal regulation of such public health matters. He characterized the National Board of Health, established in 1879 in response to the yellow-fever epidemics, as having been born prematurely, unable to survive the struggles with state authorities over allocation of responsibility.[13]

Although its staff included some of the best public-health authorities of the time, this short-lived organization died seven years after its founding, through lack of adequate congressional support.

As vice-president of the board, Billings helped to direct its important study of yellow fever in Cuba and its investigations of the nomenclature of diseases in the registration of vital and medical statistics. The latter was the starting point of his remarkable contributions to the refinement of the United States Census, the Catalog of the Surgeon General's Office, and the Index Medicus.

As one of the most accomplished statisticians of the day, Billings advised those in charge of conducting the forthcoming census. In particular, he suggested that the census concentrate on morbidity as well as mortality. He cited the experience of the Royal Sanitary Commission of Great Britain that, "however complete the registration of deaths may be, it cannot give a fair estimate of the sickness which is not fatal, it cannot indicate where or how these are to be prevented, it cannot tell the cost which is worth incurring for their diminution."[14]

The chief obstacle to compiling such records was the nature of the questions, which had been devised by nonprofessionals and were often invalid. Billings suggested a series of queries eliciting information about the number of days a person was unable to follow his vocation or attend school through the year because of disease or injury; the disease or injury from which the person might be suffering on the day of account; the mode of treatment, whether private, public, or in hospital; the particular incidence of specific infectious diseases during the year; and data as to loss of wages and cost of medical attendance, medicines, and nursing.

Billings subjected the resulting information to modern methods of analysis and interpretation, tabulating new data that correlated race with the incidence of disease. In 1880 Billings suggested that the statistical data "might be recorded on a single card or slip by punching small holes in it, and that these cards might then be assorted and counted by mechanical means according to any selected group of these perforations." The suggestion was taken up by an inventor, Herman Hollerith, who devised the electrical counting and integrating machines that were the forerunners of today's computers. Billings's services in the ninth through twelfth censuses led one contemporary commentator to credit him with transforming the nation's vital statistics from a collection of information that was "worse than worthless"[15] into a useful tool.

The predecessor of a national medical library in the United States was a small collection of books that had been accumulating since 1836 in the office of Surgeon General Joseph Lovell. Lovell's successors added to the collection, and when in 1864 Billings assumed his duties in this office, it amounted to some 1,365 volumes. One of Billings's duties was to take nominal care of this collection. To buy more books, he was given the proceeds of $80,000 that army hospitals had returned at the close of the war. By 1873 Billings had increased the collection to 25,000 volumes and 15,000 individual pamphlets and issued the first subject catalog of the collection.[16]

Three years later Billings compiled a formal fasciculus of the collection, with a specimen index of authors and subjects arranged in dictionary order in a single alphabet, and submitted it to medical colleagues for criticism and suggestions. His

fasciculus stimulated such widespread interest that Billings obtained a substantial appropriation from Congress to increase the collection. Over the next two decades Billings and his assistant (later, his successor) Robert Fletcher, a former army surgeon in the Civil War, compiled the multivolume series that later became the Index Medicus. In this publication, the entire literature of medicine and its collateral subjects, from the earliest times to the year 1916, were indexed in alphabetical order by authors and subjects, with abundant cross-references. Billings and Fletcher's achievement becomes even more significant when one considers that the important literature of nineteenth- and twentieth-century medicine is scattered through thousands of medical periodicals.

Of all Billings's tours of duty, none was as important to his development as a scientist than his seven-month assignment to the army General Hospital in West Philadelphia in 1862–63. Philadelphia was then at the center of scientific activity in the United States, and there Billings first encountered the new technique of microscopy.[17] Aided by army colleagues Edward Curtis and Joseph Woodward, both of whom were American pioneers in microscopy and microphotography, Billings himself became an expert microscopist. Like so many of his other endeavors, microscopy became a passionate interest that engaged the full range of his talent and intelligence. In the opinion of his biographer, Billings became so proficient in the technique of microscopy that he could have become an authority on the subject.[18]

During these years, Billings developed his ideas about the importance of laboratory investigation—ideas that he would later apply to medical education at Johns Hopkins. He himself worked at the bench. In an early article, Billings and Curtis discussed their original research on diseases of cattle as well as studies related to the morphology of fungi. Billings also believed that army medical officers should perform original observations with the microscope, chiding them for not using available facilities to the fullest.

> The attention of Medical Officers of the Army is called to the necessity for improvement in amount and quality of special reports relating to Medicine, Surgery and Hygiene required by this office. . . . Proper use is not being made by all Officers of the facilities for Scientific investigation which they possess. . . . [These] observations should furnish valuable additions to Science. . . . Test chests and Microscopes have been furnished to a number of the principal posts, but the results of their employment are not satisfactorily apparent.[19]

Six years after the Johns Hopkins Hospital was incorporated, its founder, a wealthy merchant and banker of Baltimore, wrote a letter of instruction to the trustees of this corporation, informing them that he had bought for them thirteen acres of land for a hospital and setting out his ideas about the planning and execution of the hospital's construction.

These ideas largely concerned purposes. Johns Hopkins offered no specific directions, for example, concerning the structure of the necessary buildings. Instead, he emphasized that the trustees should pay careful attention to the management of the

endowment, which he estimated would yield an annual revenue of $120,000. The annual interest, he wrote, should be used to erect the hospital and a home for "orphan colored children." He further specified that the hospital was intended for the benefit of the indigent sick of Baltimore and its environs, "without regard to sex, age, or color," but that a limited number of paying patients should be admitted; that the medical and surgical staff should be "of the highest character and greatest skill"; that a training school for nurses should be established in association with the hospital; that the hospital should include dispensary or outpatient accommodations; that the hospital should be free from any sectarian influences; and most important, that the hospital should ultimately form a part of the medical school of the university and thus promote not only the best possible care of the sick, but also the advancement of scientific research and the education of physicians. His ultimate intention, he wrote, was to provide for "a Hospital which shall, in construction and arrangement, compare favorably with any other institution of like character in this country or in Europe."[20]

When Hopkins died in 1873, his will divided the remainder of his estate equally between the hospital and the university. Each received an endowment of nearly $3.5 million. Over the next eighteen months the trustees considered the execution of Hopkins's broad plans. Then, in early 1875, the trustees of the hospital sent out a circular letter to five experts in hospital construction—John Shaw Billings, Norton Folsom, Joseph Jones, Caspar Morris, and Stephen Smith—requesting that they submit their ideas about the construction, heating, ventilation, and administration of the proposed hospital, with diagrammatic sketches in pen or pencil.[21]

Hospital planners of the time had to consider the controversy surrounding the scourge of "hospitalism," a term coined by James Y. Simpson in 1869 to describe the excessive mortality due to poor hygiene and crowding among postoperative patients in large hospitals.[22] The trustees of the Johns Hopkins Hospital were no exception, and several months before they asked for help from outside consultants, they studied a new book on the subject by the well-known English surgeon, John Eric Erichsen.[23] For Erichsen, the term included the influences that led to the generation of various septic diseases and not merely to the diseases themselves. "Hospitalism" meant a septic influence capable of infecting wounds or affecting the constitution of the patient, he explained, and these influences were present to some extent in any building where large numbers of wounded were brought together. All hospitals were thus susceptible to the problem, and the only means of keeping the condition in check was close attention to hygienic measures.[24]

The problem of hospitalism was an underlying theme in all of the original plans for the Johns Hopkins Hospital. Two of the experts used the word itself, and all five based their decisions for advocating one form of structure, one mode of construction or design, or one method of administration on the underlying principle that the hospital must be hygienically safe.[25]

The five plans were not merely compendia of technical and engineering details. In fact, they contained little of these, as they concentrated more on administrative problems of medical care. They discussed such topics as duties and qualifications of house officers, of the attending staff, and of the Superintendent. All the planners

discussed the relationship of the medical school and the school of nursing to the hospital.[26]

It is commonly believed that the trustees chose Billings because they found his proposal most suitable, but it was Billings the man, rather than his proposal, that influenced their final choice.[27] They believed that to provide the answers to the many professional and scientific questions that would arise, they would need the daily assistance of a medical man in order to avoid errors to which reliance on their own lay judgment could lead them. Thus, they searched with great care to find an advisor who was not only knowledgeable about the needs of medical education but who had also made a special study of hospital hygiene and organization and could adapt constructive art to the end proposed. They reached the wise conclusion that no one possessed these qualities in higher degree than Dr. John Shaw Billings.[28]

Billings's plan was not the best; the others were too similar to allow such a judgment. In fact, the trustees asked Billings to revise his proposal, which he did after his trip to leading European hospitals in 1876. His modified plan nevertheless retained many of his original ideas as well as incorporating some of the ideas common to the other four plans (Billings himself, in his address at the opening of the hospital, gave the impression that he had not seen the other four plans until their publication in 1875). The fact that Billings was close at hand, that he was eminently well qualified to act as a consultant, and that he had important ideas about medical education in the new medical school as well as about hospitals made him an ideal choice to assist the trustees in carrying out the will of Johns Hopkins.[29]

In his report Billings considered not only the details of the hospital's construction but their philosophical underpinnings, and it was this that appealed most to the trustees. None of the other four experts had offered such a novel approach. Billings emphasized that the plan of the hospital must depend upon the manner in which it would be used as an instrument of medical education. The school should aim to produce quality, Billings believed—to train not only well-educated physicians, in the fullest sense of the word, but to teach them to think and investigate for themselves. Billings emphasized that the true interests of the hospital and of the medical school were not only perfectly compatible; they were inseparable.[30] In the spring of 1876, several trustees traveled to Washington to confer with Billings. The details of their conference are not on record, but Billings and the trustees must have been in accord, for after this meeting, they selected him as their medical advisor.

Clearly more important than any of the details of construction techniques, heating, or ventilation were Billings's ideas about the function of the hospital and how construction and function should best be meshed. Cheap buildings could be run up quickly, he said, but the point was not to save money in order to open the hospital sooner but to make it a place for the best possible care, education, and research. "[T]he buildings required for these purposes cannot be made fit for their purpose with the smaller sum," Billings wrote, "neither can the saving proposed be by any means a clear gain, because of the increased amount of annual repairs which the cheaper buildings must entail."[31] Hospital planners of the time debated the merits of the pavilion and the barracks plans. Barracks were temporary, inexpensive

buildings, intended to be demolished and replaced within a few years of their construction. Pavilions, on the other hand, were permanent, more costly structures. In Billings's final plans, the wards were situated in single-story pavilions.

Billings adapted the ventilation and heating to Baltimore's climate, which, as he pointed out, spanned the tropics and northern Russia. The wards were heated by central boilers, which circulated 80,000 gallons of water through a complex system of hot water coils. The accumulation of dust and dirt was avoided in the wards by substituting curves for rectangular corners and avoiding moldings above panels. All pipes and traps were either exposed to view or could be seen by merely opening a door; under ordinary conditions, Billings wrote, they "remain a profound mystery to everyone except the plumber, and often puzzle even him."[32]

To ward off "miasmas" and "malarial emanations," a basement was left unoccupied by patients. Whenever there was any communication between the basement and the first story, such as by flues connected to radiators in the basement, even when they conveyed hot air, a thick coat of asphalt was spread beneath them so that the floor was impervious to any exhalations from the soil. No elevators were permitted in the buildings because of the danger of communicating infection from one story to the other. Ventilation was assured by natural currents of air coming from the outside, as well as by removing impure air with exhaust fans.[33] Each patient in the isolation ward had his own room, which opened into a corridor through which wind was always blowing.

Billings's plan for the hospital depicted two rows of five-ward pavilions arranged symmetrically on each side of a central garden. There was also an administration building, two two-story buildings for private patients, a kitchen and heating plant, a nurses' dormitory and apothecary's building designed to hold the pharmacy, two bath houses, and a staff dining room. The plan also contained facilities for medical instruction and scientific work, including a physiology laboratory and a building for the conduct of pathological examinations and for medical investigations. No buildings up to that time had more enlightened arrangements for pure air or more perfect construction of apparatus for heating and ventilation. Billings believed that he had presided over the construction of "the best built buildings of their kind in the world."[34]

Despite his careful attention to buildings and machinery, he recognized that they were simply tools and instruments. The real hospital, he said, the moving and animating soul of the institution, which would determine its character, consisted of the brains to be put in it. "[T]he most difficult thing in forming this hospital is not to plan the buildings, to decide how they shall be heated, or whether the ventilation should be by a central aspirating shaft or otherwise; it is to find the proper and suitable persons to be the soul and power of the institution, but it is also true that the plan and arrangement of buildings will have a powerful influence upon those who are to manage the Hospital."[35]

Billings concluded that the most effective lure for obtaining the best men would not be attractive salaries as much as the offer of every facility for the furtherance of scientific observation and experiment. "We can much more certainly secure men who will . . . [do] everything that science can suggest to understand the condition of the patient and the best method of relieving him; by showing them that . . .

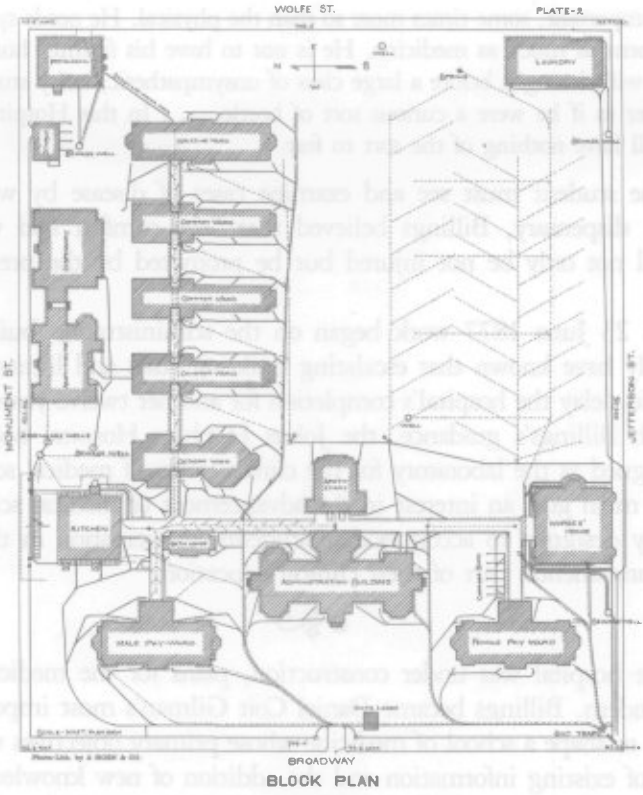

FIGURE 2. Frederick Gutekunst's drawing of the Johns Hopkins Hospital as built—a view that compares interestingly with the original block plan reprinted on the cover of this issue. (John Shaw Billings, *Description of the Johns Hopkins Hospital* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Hospital, 1890].)

the resources of modern science and mechanical skills should be at their command, and that any discoveries which they may make shall be properly published, than by simply offering double pay."[36]

After Billings's final proposal had been accepted by the trustees, the architect, John Niernsee, drew up detailed blueprints, which served as the basis of a series of reports by Billings to the president of the trustees. These reports represent Billings's most valuable and enduring contributions to the subject of hospital construction and organization.[37]

As Billings's first report documents, he was very sensitive to the Samaritan aspects of patient care. "The hospital should contribute to Charity, Education and Science," he wrote.

> First to Charity. It is to furnish the best possible care and treatment to the sick. Its patients are to have the benefit of the best medical and surgical skill which can be procured, of properly trained nurses, of pure air and proper food, and they are not to be subjected to any annoyances or depressing influences by being made a show of in any way. Their treatment by the Hospital authorities is to be in the same spirit in which they would be treated in their own homes. I wish to make my views on this point distinctly and clearly understood. . . . A sick man enters the Hospital to have . . . his disease cured. To this end the mental influences brought to bear upon him

> are always important, some times more so than the physical. He needs sympathy and encouragement as much as medicine. He is not to have his feelings hurt by being, against his will, brought before a large class of unsympathetic, noisy students, to be lectured over as if he were a curious sort of beetle. . . . In this Hospital I propose that he shall have nothing of the sort to fear.[38]

Although the student must see and examine cases of disease by working in the hospital and dispensary, Billings believed that "the comfort and welfare of the patients shall not only be not injured but be promoted by the presence of those students."[39]

When on 23 June 1877 work began on the administration building, no one could possibly have known that escalating building costs and limited endowment income would delay the hospital's completion for another twelve years. Yet when it opened, with Billings's guidance, the Johns Hopkins Hospital became the first hospital designed as the laboratory for the clinical years of medical school, the first to have as a main goal an interest in the advancement of medical science, and the first expressly designed to accommodate students' participation in the care of patients as a fundamental part of their clinical education.

While the hospital was under construction, plans for the medical school proceeded in tandem. Billings became Daniel Coit Gilman's most important advisor, helping him to shape a school of medicine whose primary objectives would be both the transfer of existing information and the addition of new knowledge.

Billings's interest in medical education came to the foreground in 1876, when he was asked to prepare an essay for a series entitled "A Century of American Medicine" to commemorate the nation's centennial. His article gave a brief account of the development of medical education in the United States, together with detailed information about some of the medical schools then in existence. Moreover, once Johns Hopkins had specified in his letter to the trustees that the hospital was to form a part of the medical school for which he had made provision, there was no doubt that the Johns Hopkins Hospital would be a teaching hospital. Billings never lost sight of that fact, taking it into consideration in preparing his plans for the hospital. In so doing, Billings had formed opinions about medical education in general and about the nature and extent of the opportunities that the university, hospital, and medical school would present.[40]

Clinical instruction—the study of disease in living subjects—was the first topic that Billings considered in examining the requirements of a good medical school. "The sooner he [the student] can begin to profitably receive instruction by the bedside of the sick, or rather to instruct himself there, the better," Billings said. "Nothing can take the place of this; if it be not obtained before graduation, when errors can be prevented by the teacher, it must be obtained afterwards at the expense of the first patients who present themselves."[41] The second most important goal of a medical school, in Billings's opinion, was the promotion of original research and discovery in medicine. This process included the dissemination of these discoveries.

Billings also insisted that the students' knowledge not be acquired mainly from textbooks or lectures but from observation, experiment, and personal investigation.

To do this he felt that for every facility—rooms, instruments and apparatus, laboratories, wards and deadhouse—small classes must be the order of the day. Lecturing, he said, would be the smallest part of the duty of the medical school's professors. In the earlier part of their medical school exercises, pupils should occupy themselves with principles, theories, and general formulae; this type of education was the exclusive province of the university. After the student had received adequate preparation in the sciences basic to medicine, he or she should apply the principles learned to medical practice.[42]

No time should be wasted on persons not fitted to receive such instruction, Billings said, and suitable students must therefore be sifted out at the start by careful attention to their qualifications for medical studies. Billings recognized that, to promote his hopes for American medicine, students' premedical education would have to be improved. Those poorly trained in the basic sciences relating to medicine (by which he meant biology, chemistry, and physics) would not be able to understand the scientific basis of medicine, nor would they be in a position to advance that knowledge. He advised that the bachelor's degree from a reputable university be made an indispensable prerequisite to the study of medicine.[43] A broad premedical education was most important, Billings believed.

> It is generally agreed that the important part of the work of preliminary education is to make the student acquainted with the uses and powers of his own mind, to train not only his hand, eye and ear but his brain. . . . For this purpose great aid can be

FIGURE 3. Interior of a Common Ward (Alan Mason Chesney Medical Archives, Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions.)

> obtained from the study of Botany, Natural History and the Physical Sciences. . . . Hence comes the immense importance of making the study of Mathematics, of the Physical Sciences, and of Logic, preliminary to that of Medicine. It is not only that the facts which will be thus learned are of importance to the Physician, but that he will by such studies be taught how to think.[44]

Billings traveled to Europe in 1876, visiting hospitals and medical schools in hopes of identifying solutions to deficiencies in American medical education and practice. To improve the average education of the practitioner, he must study longer and be better prepared. To French and German academicians, higher medical education implied attention to original research, to progress in both the science and the art of medicine, and to the idea that students should assimilate not only existing knowledge but the desire and the power to add to it.[45]

Billings recognized the importance of filling professorial chairs with the best possible candidates. He contrasted the situation abroad and in the United States. In German universities, for example, "when a professorship becomes vacant . . . it may occasion several changes, especially if the position be an important one, because there immediately follows an effort to induce the best man from some other university to come and fill the vacant place, and, if this be successful, then there is another empty chair to fill and so on."[46] In contrast, local physicians in the United States taught both preclinical sciences and clinical medicine on a part-time basis, and no teachers were recruited from outside the medical school's home city. Hopkins adopted the European practice, and most of its first faculty came from outside Baltimore. The first faculty member appointed was William H. Welch, professor of pathology, who arrived from New York in 1884. Billings was also responsible for recruiting William Osler from Philadelphia as the first professor of medicine and physician-in-chief of the hospital at Johns Hopkins.

As Gilman's advisor, Billings found himself in a position to alter the course of medicine in the United States, and he took full advantage of his power. When in 1876 the university opened, Billings was appointed lecturer in the history of medicine; in 1877–78 he gave a series of twenty addresses on medical history, legislation, and education. So timely and cogent was his lecture on medical education in this series that the trustees of the university underwrote its private publication.

Billings made specific recommendations about the sequence and length of courses—suggestions that represented a departure from the usual educational program of the time. He also recommended that the size of each medical school class be limited, to give each student ample opportunity for laboratory and clinical work. Finally, Billings anticipated the clinical clerkship and residency programs put in place by Osler, in recommending that every student spend his last year as a resident in the hospital in the study and practice of medicine and surgery.

Billings also addressed the future of Hopkins's graduates. He recognized the opportunity to train a group of young men and women who would spread throughout the nation, helping to develop other schools equal in quality to the new school in Baltimore. "In expressing the opinion that a prime object of the medical department should be the promotion of original research," Billings wrote, "I do not by any means wish to give the idea that this research is to be made mainly in the school itself. The object is to produce men fitted to make research, and who will take the habit of, and taste for inquiry which they have acquired

FIGURE 4. View of the Johns Hopkins Hospital from Broadway. (Photo by Frederick Gutekunst, in John Shaw Billings, *Description of the Johns Hopkins Hospital* [Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Hospital, 1890].)

here—into, we will hope, wider and more extensive fields of usefulness."[47] Thus Hopkins could contribute to a nationwide improvement in medical education. Billings recognized that medical education must progress in order to set the stage for advances in medical research.

NOTES

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29. Brieger, "The Original Plans for the Johns Hopkins Hospital," p. 528.

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Druid Hill Branch, Young Men's Christian Association: The First Hundred Years

DRECK SPURLOCK WILSON

Except for a four-year interruption, the Druid Hill Branch Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) of Baltimore has served the religious and recreational needs of the black community for more than a century. Celebrating its centennial anniversary in 1985 gave reason to reflect on its past and pay homage to those persons responsible for its longevity. As Michael Winston, former director of Howard University's Moorland–Spingarn Research Center, has written, "A people without a remembered heritage, bereft of any sense of a past, cannot achieve a sound understanding of the present."[1] The history of the Druid Hill Branch is inextricably woven into the history of black Baltimore. Studying that history and recognizing the forces that gave it shape should help to prepare us for the next one hundred years.

Black Baltimoreans founded the Druid Hill Branch of the YMCA in 1885 to fill a social void and combat environmental conditions that threatened the tenuous fabric of the community. Negro voters in Baltimore comprised one-fourth of the Republican party which, in turn, promised little and unfortunately delivered on that promise. Prior to 1892 it was futile for blacks to turn to the city or state governments for relief because there were no black elected officials. Most of the 67,296 black inhabitants of Baltimore in 1890 lived off narrow alleys on brick lanes or courts and, like many whites, in cramped dwellings lacking adequate sanitation.[2] For health care blacks turned to the Baltimore Eye, Ear, and Throat and Marine hospitals and, after 1894, to Provident Hospital. Neither the city of Baltimore nor the state of Maryland funded equal public education for blacks, who instead relied largely on church-sponsored schools. In addition to these social maladies, the black community faced problems of unsupervised, truant, and parentless children. Only the crowded Sennas Home for Friendless Colored Children on Pratt Street existed to ameliorate juvenile suffering. The colored association emerged during these times of racial segregation and mounting urbanization. Blacks in Baltimore, many of them only a generation removed from slavery, recognized the perilous plight of its young men.

Not surprisingly, given British antislavery influence during the nineteenth century, black Baltimoreans chose as the vehicle of their deliverance a Christian philosophy whose origins were English. The YMCA in London formed in June 1841, when George Williams—a drapery apprentice—joined with co-workers to "create an environment in which by mutual assistance they could put into practice their

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Mr. Wilson, a Washington, D.C., landscape architect, began work on this article as part of centennial observances at the Druid Hill Branch.

Christian beliefs in order to resist the moral decadence and dehumanizing influence of industrialization."[3] Williams renounced his wayward ways and re-dedicated his life to God, Queen Victoria, and the Church of England. Americans learned of the YMCA at the first world's fair, a "Great Exhibit of Works of Industry of All Nations" held in Hyde Park, London, in 1851. As soon as Y converts returned to the United States, associations appeared in cities along the Atlantic Coast, the first in Boston the same year the world's fair opened. The crusade marched south to Baltimore in 1852, when the Maryland Baptist Union convened a meeting of all white evangelical denominations in the city. Plenary meetings followed, and on 29 December 1853 the Baltimore YMCA was organized with a roster of over five hundred members.

The Baltimore Y grew into one of the largest and most respected chapters in North America. Religious meetings were held in rented space on the third floor of the Adams Express building at 164 East Baltimore Street until 1854, when the Y moved to the appropriately named Bible and Tract building at 75 West Fayette Street. In tribute to its success, the Baltimore chapter in the fall of 1859, dedicated the first building in the world devoted exclusively to the work of the YMCA. The $7,000, two-story Victorian edifice was located at the intersection of Pierce and Schroeder streets west of downtown. It contained a reading library, prayer room, lecture hall, and offices. The efficient floor plan became the prototype for YMCA structures built throughout the United States. But the Civil War severely depleted the Y's ranks. In 1869, suffering from a dwindling treasury, the Baltimore YMCA was forced to sell its landmark building and spend part of the proceeds to rent space at 160 West Baltimore Street, where chess, tenpins, or billiards accompanied the religious regimen. In 1877 the YMCA concluded its second successful building campaign. At a cost of $237,000, architects Niernsee and Neilson designed a building for the northwest corner of Charles and Saratoga streets. Despite several alterations through the years, including the loss of its portico, the Central Branch YMCA building remains.

The late nineteenth century increase in Y membership chiefly was due to the influx of German and Russian immigrants, who flocked to Baltimore to work in the railroad and maritime industries. Foreign to the mores of their adopted city, they relied on the YMCA for schooling, accommodations, and recreation at affordable prices. Doses of Christianity were free of charge. As the city grew in population and expanded its geographic limits, so did the YMCA. It established the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad branch at 1800 Webster Street in 1890. In October 1884 the central branch organized a YMCA School whose curriculum included German, elocution, photography, and music. These diverse subjects reflected the philosophy of the movement (captured in its trademark—an inverted, isosceles triangle), a striving toward "symmetrical man, each part developed with reference to the whole, and not merely with reference to itself."[4] The central branch's practical syllabus matured into the first accountancy school in Baltimore, which opened in 1910. The Y's railroad branch extended its work to Johns Hopkins University students in 1895. At the dawn of the new century the central branch was at the zenith of its popularity—well endowed to challenge the future.

Williams and the earliest American associations proceeded on the Christian prin-

ciple that all men stood equal in the sight of God. "The Associations as such have no politics and know no distinction among men except between those who love Christ and those who love Him not."[5] The YMCA offered a place for all races (including American Indians) to meet and practice those principles of life that enhanced the spirit, mind and body. Nonetheless, the Y did not propose to solve the problem of racial prejudice; white members of the central branch did not extend membership to their darker-skinned brethren. They acquiesced all too agreeably to segregation of the races, a condition endemic to nineteenth century America. Although the national council of the YMCA, located in New York City, generally adhered to color-blind policies, it rarely interfered with local associations when they discriminated against blacks. In many cities local policies institutionalized a bi-racial system that barred the colored association from gaining official status as a branch.

Separate and unequal funding and facilities produced the country's first colored association for men and boys in Washington, D.C., in August 1853. The founder, Anthony Bowen, was born a slave in Prince George's County, Maryland. Freed, he settled in the District of Columbia in 1826 and later became the first black clerk in the United States Patent Office. One of Bowen's white co-workers, Chauncy Landon, served as corresponding secretary of the YMCA in Washington and helped Bowen to organize the colored Y. Though it did not survive, another colored association had emerged in the District of Columbia by 1866 and others had formed in Charleston, South Carolina, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and New York City's Harlem. A student association, first among black collegians, appeared on the campus of Howard University in 1869. All successful colored associations shared a nearby and active white YMCA, a pre-Civil War record of free-black community, and a large black population to draw upon. In a widely publicized speech at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895, Booker T. Washington did not mention the thirteen colored associations that by then had been organized, but he could have referred to them when he remarked, "In all things that are purely social we (blacks) can be as separate as the fingers yet one hand in all things essential to mutual progress."[6]

The fermentation that led to a colored association in Baltimore began in 1869. While in most cities black businessmen provided the catalyst for black Ys, in Baltimore ministers supplied the leadership. In 1869 Bishop Alexander Wayman of Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church invited fellow clergy to join him in the formation of a Pastors' Union to "discuss all problems affecting Negroes, including drunkenness and idleness and the possibility of establishing a Colored YMCA."[7] The colored association of Baltimore eventually was organized by yet another group of ministers, the Brotherhood of Liberty of the United States, which the Reverend Harvey Johnson of Union Baptist Church organized in June 1885. The brotherhood's principal aim was to reverse the erosion of black rights that the Supreme Court began in 1883 by declaring the 1875 Civil Rights Act unconstitutional. On 19 October 1885, in the auditorium of the Union Baptist Church on Guilford Avenue, the brotherhood sponsored the first public meeting of the colored association. The keynote speaker at the three-day event was the former federal marshal and recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia, Frederick Douglass. By 1888 membership of the Brotherhood of Liberty had grown to seventy-five and included all

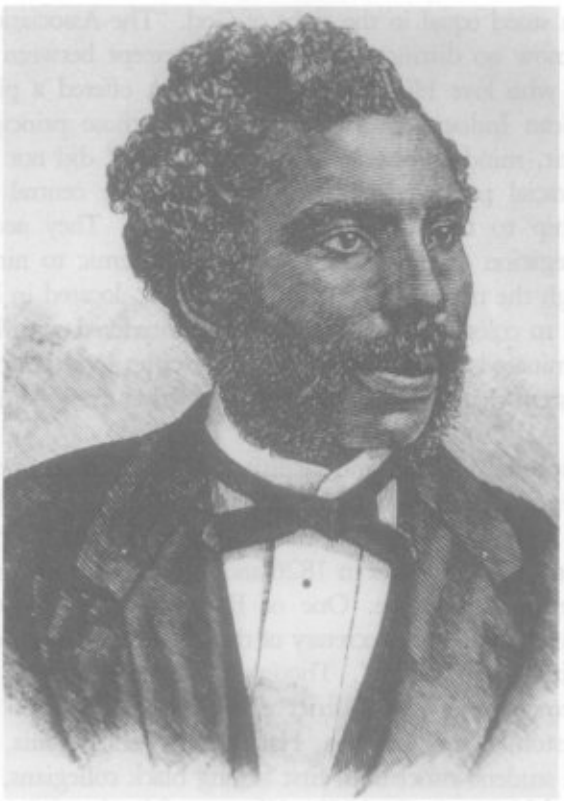

FIGURE 1. Reverend Harvey Johnson of the Union Baptist Church. (Collection of the Union Baptist Church, Baltimore.)

six black physicians and both black lawyers then practicing in Baltimore. The brotherhood was instrumental in creating the Baltimore Colored Symphony Orchestra during the 1880s and the Young People's Forum in 1888.

In 1891 officers of the Brotherhood of Liberty invited William Hunton to visit Baltimore and address the group concerning the future of the colored association. He was the first black employee of the national council and former executive secretary of the Norfolk, Virginia, Colored Association. As secretary for colored interests to the national council, Hunton's message was the same litany repeated in countless trips to other cities: Why (*fill in the blank with the name of the city*) needed a colored YMCA and how to organize one. Two years after Hunton's visit Frank White, President of the Central Branch received a petition requesting official recognition of the Baltimore Colored Association. The hopes of a generation of black leaders were fulfilled as the colored YMCA became reality. Original members of the colored association included: T. Alexander Date, William T. Greenwood, R. Hall, F. C. Lewis, R. Mattell, M. B. Mayfield, Dr. George B. Murphy (a high school principal), John Murphy, Sr. (editor of the *Afro-American Weekly*), Reverend P. Carter Neal, Thomas Smith, Russell Walker, T. Henry Walters, Milton H. White, and M. Williams. The date the Central Branch YMCA officially recognized the black group is not known, but by 1896 its annual financial statement listed a gift of "$25 to Colored Y" and the first listing of the "Baltimore Colored Association" appeared in its annual report.

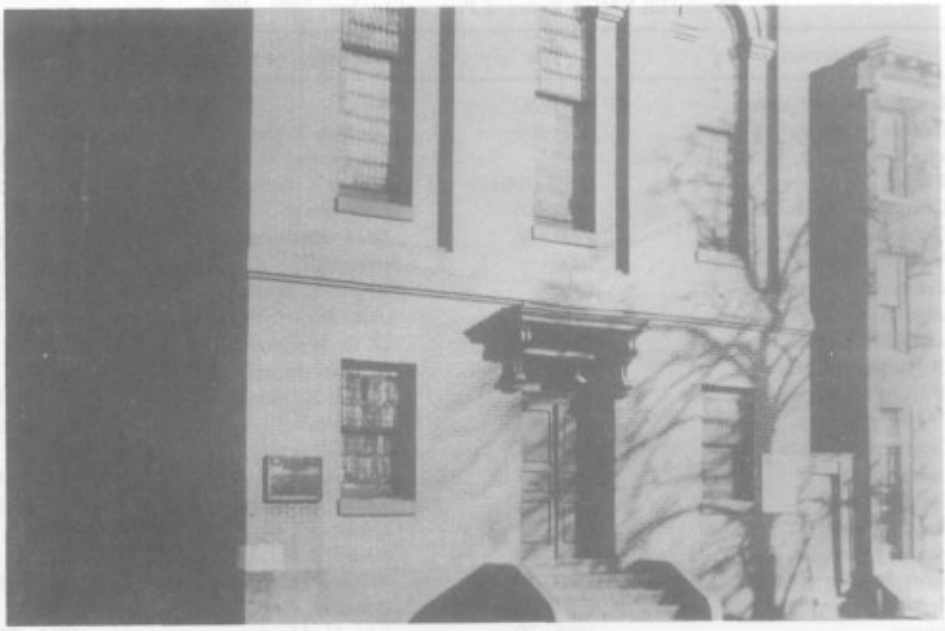

FIGURE 2. Early home of the Colored YMCA, 438 West Biddle Street, 1893. (Collection of the Druid Hill YMCA, Baltimore.)

The early years of the association were similar to the central branch's—nomadic. From 1893–95 religious meetings were held in a rented house at 438 West Biddle Street. At the time there were forty-five members. Due to mounting expenses the group next resorted to meeting in members' homes. With the encouragement of William Hunton the central branch in January 1898 agreed to subsidize the annual salary of W. Edward Williams, a recent graduate of the divinity school at Biddle University in Charlotte, North Carolina, as the first salaried executive secretary of the colored association. The board of managers—then straining to support a public reading room, Bible classes, Sunday school teacher classes, and a ladies auxiliary—gratefully accepted Hunton's offer. By 1899 active membership had risen to 167, allowing the colored association to spend $2,000 on a twelve-room house on the southeast corner of Hoffman Street and Druid Hill Avenue. This west-side neighborhood was strategic to the association. During the first decade of the twentieth century, the largest concentration of Baltimore blacks lived in an area divided between the "upper" sector of well-to-do, between North Avenue and Eutaw Place, and the "lower" sector of those less fortunate, between Biddle and Preston streets. Old West absorbed most of the black migration away from the waterfront caused by the massive land acquisitions of the B&O.

Further moves followed. By 1902 the colored Y had sold its first building and for $1,250 purchased a frame house at 1033 Druid Hill Avenue. In 1910 the association moved to the southeast corner of McMechen Street (named after black lawyer George McMechen) and Druid Hill Avenue. On the opposite corner the association in 1916 acquired several adjoining parcels with the intention of building new headquarters. Before each move, a community fundraiser supplemented the Y treasury. At one such event on the evening of 21 May 1907 a 140-voice choir with

Druid Hill YMCA Roster of Principal Leaders, 1885–1985

Chairmen	Year	Executive Secretaries	Year
Reverend Harvey Johnson	1885–92	none	1885–92
Thomas H. Smith	1893–96	William T. Greenwood	1893–97
John H. Murphy, Sr.	1897	W. Edward Williams	1898–99
William H. Murray	1898–1901	Prentis A. Goines	1900–10
Thomas H. Smith	1902–06	unknown	1911
T. Alexander Date	1907–08	W. F. DeBardeleden	1912–13
P. D. Blackwell	1909	unknown	1914–22
Mason A. Hawkins, Sr.	1910	Simeon S. Booker	1923–25
James A. Callis	1911–15	unknown	1926–27
James W. Hughes	1916–22	G. C. Widgeon	1928
Dr. George B. Murphy	1923–27	William Anderson, Jr.	1929
William Anderson	1928–33	Samuel R. Morsel	1930–34
T. Henry Waters	1934–35	unknown	1935–36
Carrington L. Davis	1936–41	Earl E. Martin	1937
J. A. B. Callis	1942–52	unknown	1938–39
Truly Hatchet	1953–56	Arthur N. Grant	1940–41
Reverend Marion C. Bascom	1957–59	unknown	1942
Harold J. Jennifer, Jr.	1960–68	James G. Dashiell	1943
James R. Hite	1969–73	William H. Kindle	1944–51
Fleming James, Sr.	1974–75	Ernest H. Brown	1952
defunct	1976–79	John H. Henderson	1953–73
John C. Mayden	1980–83	Stephen Milburn	1974
John A. Hargrave, Jr.	1984–85	unknown	1975
		defunct	1976–79
		Kareem Aziz	1980
		Harry Fulford	1981
		Nathaniel Jackson, Jr.	1982–85

FIGURE 3. Officers of the Colored YMCA in 1901: Thomas Smith and R. Mattell (standing); William Murray, W. B. Marshall, Charles Haskins, and M. B. Mayfield. (Collection of the Druid Hill YMCA, Baltimore.)

a New Yorker, Harry T. Burleigh, as soloist sang Samuel Coleridge-Taylor's "The Atonement." The gala affair was especially memorable because it featured a black choral society and black baritone singing an opera written by a black composer before a black audience for the benefit of a black organization. The building campaign received a tremendous outside boost in January 1911 when the board of managers received a $25,000 check from Sears & Roebuck Company President Julius Rosenwald of Chicago. Rosenwald, an ardent financial benefactor of blacks pledged that amount for the construction of colored YMCA buildings to any city

FIGURE 4. Building Campaign Committee, c. 1910. (Collection of the Druid Hill YMCA, Baltimore.)

that raised a minimum of $75,000 to that end over a five-year period. Baltimore blacks contributed $35,242, whites another $81,274.

In 1918 the cornerstone was laid for a four-story, neo-classical building at 1619 Druid Hill Avenue. Up the granite steps, behind the walnut front door, the interior consisted of a locker room, shower room, and on ground level a 40 × 20-foot swimming pool (the only indoor pool in the city open to blacks). On the first floor were game room, all-purpose room, kitchen, club room, and offices. Dormitory rooms on the second, third, and fourth floors were rented to "decent, unmarried, young black men" and helped to defray operating costs. Somehow the building lacked a gymnasium; colored YMCA buildings designed by black architects in Washington, D.C. (William Sidney Pittman), Philadelphia (Julian Frances Abele), and Los Angeles (Paul Revere Williams) were vastly superior architectural statements. Dedicated on 1 January 1919, the original building still stands, proudly bearing witness to changes that have swept over the neighborhood.

Paradoxically for an institution steeped in Christian pacifism, the colored association made its largest gains in paid membership in wartime. During the Spanish-American War membership in the association climbed from 75 to 167 and in World War I went from 172 to 812. Thereafter military men often filled the leadership role that earlier had belonged to ministers. During the Spanish-American War Prentis Goines operated a "Y Tent" in Cuba for black troops of the 9th Ohio Regiment. He acted as executive secretary of the colored association from 1900 to

FIGURE 5. Druid Hill YMCA, 1619 Druid Hill Avenue (Collection of the Druid Hill YMCA, Baltimore.)

1910. William Kindle, a YMCA employee, was responsible for recreation at the Negro Officers' Training Camp at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, during World War I; he served as executive secretary of the Druid Hill YMCA from 1944 to 1951.

The Great Depression with its severe human suffering brought increased reliance on programs offered by the colored association. While in 1934 the black population of Baltimore grew to 142,000 and the sheer number of people using the Druid Hill YMCA grew accordingly, the number of paid members decreased by 220. The Central Branch Y, upon which the colored association relied for financial support, sharply reduced its subsidy. Total contributions to the association dropped from $16,491 in 1931 to $10,356 three years later. The black group thus was sandwiched between increasing demand for its programs and decreasing revenue to operate those programs. The full-time staff periodically missed paydays. The board of managers, who served without pay, often dug deep into their own pockets to meet emergency expenses. The Druid Hill YMCA stubbornly held on and somehow out-lasted the ruinous Depression to be saved by the wartime economy.

During World War II, when Baltimore was an embarkation depot for the army and navy, Y activity reached new peaks. In conjunction with the United Service Organizations or USO, the central branch at its downtown location provided services to white soldiers and sailors while the colored association did the same for black military personnel. Druid Hill membership surged from 598 to 1,733. The scarcity of sleeping accommodations for black troops, worse for the "whites only" policy of downtown hotels, prompted the Druid Hill YMCA to offer sleeping space at its headquarters and at a sixty-two bed dormitory at 529 Gold Street. For thirty-five cents per day, which included clean linen and a canvas cot, black soldiers and sailors found a clean and safe place to sleep. More popular than the cots were the weekly Friday night dances. Overflow crowds of servicemen and civilian

FIGURE 6. Black servicemen in the recreation room of the Druid Hill YMCA, 1941. (Collection of the Druid Hill YMCA, Baltimore.)

members of the colored association danced to records by vocalists such as Nat "King" Cole, Baltimore's own Billie "Lady Day" Holiday, and bandleaders Charles Edward "Duke" Ellington and William "Count" Basie. During World War II the colored association started a student auxiliary at Morgan State College.

After the war, as a result of a two year survey conducted by the Baltimore Council of Social Studies, the Druid Hill YMCA launched an ambitious "Building for Youth Campaign." Two significant capital projects were completed. In June 1940 the colored association had acquired 286 acres of mostly timberland on the left bank of the Patuxent River in Huntington, approximately sixty-two miles from Baltimore. Known as Camp Druid Hill, the site was the only one in Maryland welcoming black teenagers. The other project was the construction of an annex (1609 Druid Hill Avenue) to the original building. In 1946 the Elizabeth King Ellicott Trust Fund gave a gift of cash and securities that totaled $110,814 (Ellicott, an ardent suffragist, was daughter of Francis King, one of the original trustees of Johns Hopkins University). This was and remains the largest individual contribution the colored association has received. The annex, contiguous to and east of the original building and west of Trinity Baptist Church, attempted to complement the original building's facade. The interior of the annex contained a 45 × 70-foot gymnasium, a game room, three offices, social room, a matron's room, meeting rooms, a craft shop, and on the upper three floors thirty-seven dormitory rooms. The cornerstone for the $517,000 annex was put in place in August 1949. A year later Druid Hill Avenue was temporarily barricaded to allow some three hundred guests to witness the ribbon-cutting ceremony. Following the "Star Spangled Banner" by the Douglass High School Band, Dr. Howard Long, dean of administration at Wilberforce University, offered remarks. Overall, however, the 1950s were financially stringent years for the colored association. Operating subsidies from the central branch declined, the sheer number of people using the Druid Hill YMCA grew, and paid membership shrank.

The postwar revolution in race relations had enormous impact on Baltimore YMCAs, though for Druid Hill results were mixed. As middle-income black families took advantage of hard-earned civil-rights victories and slowly moved to desegregated neighborhoods and into integrated social activities, the colored association lost a major source of financial support. In 1960, under pressure, the central branch integrated and officially recognized the colored association as a "branch," but in accepting unified YMCA administration the black group lost title to the property it had acquired over seventy-five years. Meanwhile the staff of the Druid Hill Branch remained all-black. In 1963—apparently to mask its black origins—integrated Camp Druid Hill changed its name to Camp Mohawk.

Paid memberships in the Druid Hill Branch continued to decline through the 1970's, hastened by an urban-renewal program that drastically depleted black population in neighborhoods the branch served. In 1972 an ad hoc committee, the Black Constituency Task Force, formed to analyze the branch's decline and recommend a course of action. Four years later, Richard Kelly, executive director of the YMCA of Greater Baltimore, acting on the recommendation of his executive board, announced that on 27 February 1976 the Druid Hill Branch would close. As reasons Kelly cited an alarming decline in paid memberships, a tremendous increase in heating costs, and the lack of money to repair antiquated boilers. After

FIGURE 7. Indian lore at Camp Druid Hill in Huntington, Maryland, c. 1950. (Collection of the Druid Hill YMCA, Baltimore.)

ninety-one consecutive years of service to the black community, the doors to the Druid Hill YMCA were boarded shut. The same black community that could have financially rescued the branch mourned the loss of the only all-black branch in Maryland while weak excuses were offered for its demise.

To balm the wound suffered by the black community, the YMCA of Greater Baltimore in the summer of 1976 opened the Northwest Branch in the midst of the predominately black Park Heights community. Ostensibly it would replace the defunct Druid Hill Branch. But its budget was woefully inadequate. It lacked the swimming pool, dormitory rooms, etc., of a typical YMCA. It operated with a skeleton staff. It was a mere shadow of the once proud Druid Hill YMCA.

Like the mythical Phoenix, the Druid Hill Branch in the late 1970s slowly rose from the ashes. The board of directors of the YMCA of Greater Baltimore met with Commissioner Robert C. Embry, Jr., of the Baltimore Department of Housing and Community Development to negotiate a public/private lease-back. The YMCA transferred title to the Druid Hill Branch to the city. Embry, in turn, allocated $1.4 million in federal community development block grant funds to rehabilitate the building's interior and modernize its mechanical systems. The city-operated mayor's station moved into the annex. Mayor William Donald Schaefer and the city council then leased the original building to the YMCA of Greater Baltimore for an annual fee of one dollar. The Y closed the Northwest Branch and re-opened the Druid Hill Branch in March 1980. The rehabilitated building was re-named the Lilly M. Jackson Center to honor the distinguished black suffragist and civil rights advocate, but the community was accustomed to referring to the building as the Druid Hill Y. With the re-opening of the Druid Hill Branch the burden of do-nothingness had been lifted from the collective consciousness of the black community.

During the winter of 1981 the YMCA of Greater Baltimore and its branches were in strained financial straits. The Central Branch liquidated its property and drew upon its endowment for operating funds. The death knell was heard faintly in the west Baltimore neighborhood of Druid Hill, but it was fortissimo for the central branch located downtown. The corporate flagship was closed and its staff transferred to, of all places, the Druid Hill Branch. By 1982 the bloated staff at Druid Hill was cut to seven and the operating budget slashed from $102,000 to $65,000. A year later the streamlined staff, augmented by a competent board of managers and executive director, led the way to fiscal recovery. An accurate barometer of stability was reflected in paid memberships, which increased from 458 in 1983 to approximately 600 in 1984. Currently Druid Hill operates a full complement of programs and services.

The Druid Hill YMCA once again has taken its respected place among providers of services to the black community of Baltimore. The branch continues to serve as an oasis for blacks who, through the years, have been engulfed by unequal education and social, residential, and economic segregation. An epilogue for the Druid Hill Branch cannot yet be written, but its ten decades of service reflect leadership steadily aimed at the spiritual, mental, and social betterment of young black men.

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PETER H. CURTIS AND ANNE S. K. TURKOS
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INTRODUCTION

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Sources for Documenting Baltimore's Suburban Landscape

MICHAEL A. GRIMES

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the growth of suburbia has been one of the most important influences to shape the American landscape. The creation of improved transportation (including horse and street cars), widespread population growth and movement, and the promotion of the urban fringe by realtors and builders all helped to spur the conversion of thousands of square miles of open land into low-density residential areas.

There has been a great deal written about this process in the United States,[1] but few works focus specifically on Baltimore's suburban expansion.[2] The dearth of Baltimore scholarship probably owes to the fact that the source materials are scattered and not very well known. This essay represents an effort to describe the records that are available for the study of suburban Baltimore in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. "Suburbs" is defined here as the outskirts Baltimore City annexed in this period and the adjacent areas of Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties (see figure 1).[3]

Some of the best sources to trace the development of suburban Baltimore are maps. Two types of maps provide good overviews of the growth of the City. Topographical survey maps, produced primarily by the Maryland Geological Survey, illustrate the contours of the land, streams, streets, and buildings. They are available for Baltimore City, Baltimore County, and Anne Arundel County from approximately 1904.[4] The second group, street maps, do not usually show buildings but do illustrate streets and the names of towns and other developments. A variety of people produced street maps, including the municipal government and realtors, and therefore these items are an abundant source of information.[5] These records provide a good starting point for research.

There are more specific maps available, as well. Among the most useful are subdivision plats. The developer created these to show the division of a piece of land into smaller lots. In addition to the layout of the lots, subdivision plats usually also show streets, especially in the larger developments.[6]

The final group of maps, insurance atlases, are very detailed and show streets, streetcar lines, utilities, as well as buildings. The Bromley and Sanborn companies produced these maps for the city between 1896 and 1929 and for Baltimore County between 1898 and 1915. There is also a detailed atlas for the area annexed by the city in 1888 which is comparable to the insurance maps in the information it provides.[7]

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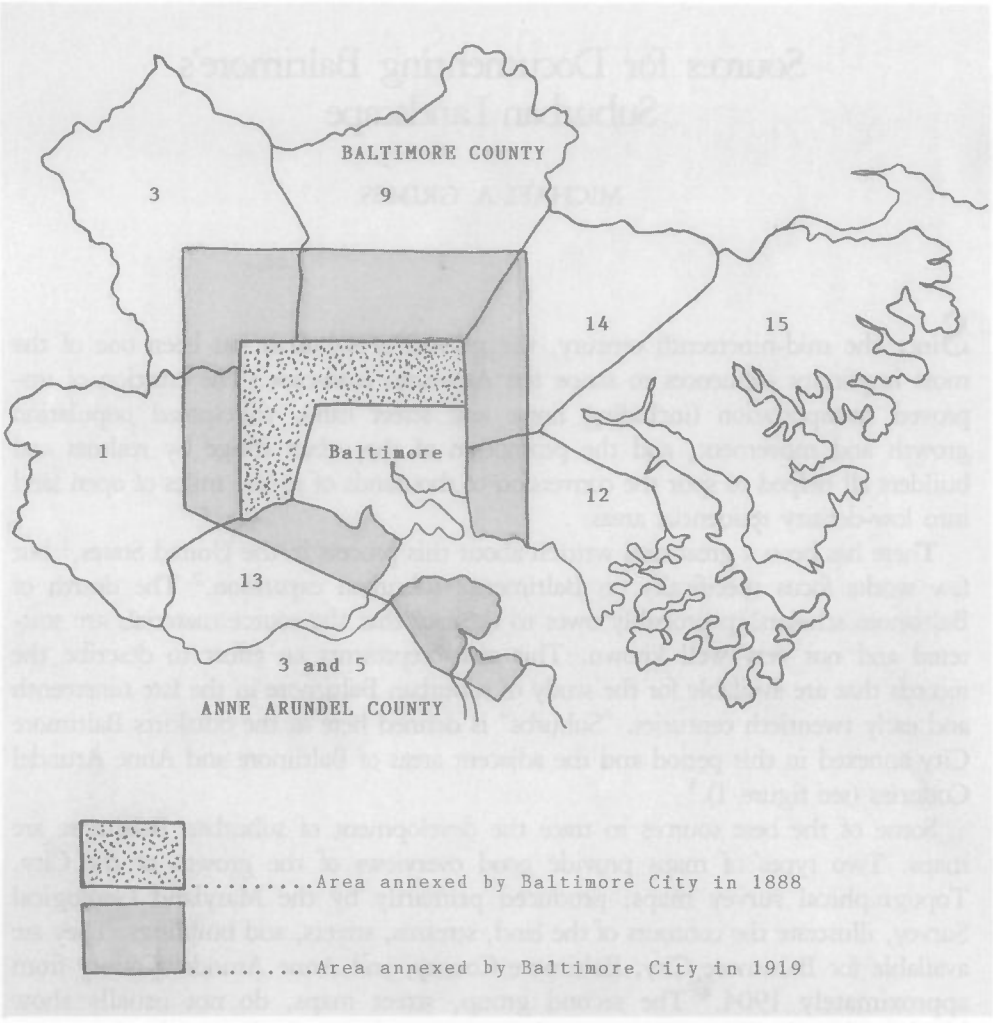

FIGURE 1. Suburban Baltimore, 1889–1929. Numbers indicate county election districts. (Author's drawing.)

Newpapers are another good source of information about the suburbs. Both the *Daily Record* (1888 to present) and the *Sun* (1837 to present) have much information about the growth of suburbia, articles covering real estate transactions and large scale developments in the metropolitan area. The use of the *Sun* is facilitated by an index.[8] Advertisements are another good source of information. Through these a researcher can see land development, housing styles, prices, and the marketing techniques developers used to attract buyers.

Annual reports also provide general insight into the general development of the suburbs. Municipal annual reports include those of the Appeal Tax Court and the Commissioners for Opening and Closing Streets. The first group gives the number of building permits granted for new and additional improvements in the city. The information is arranged by ward, except for the area annexed in 1919, where it is arranged by the (old) district numbers. These reports provide a good idea of how much building occurred, when, and where. The annual reports of the Commissioners for Opening and Closing Streets describe municipal street development.

They include references for both new street construction and work to existing thoroughfares. The reports also provide some insights into why certain improvements were made. The opening of Rogers Avenue from Park Heights Avenue to Reisterstown Road, for example, enabled "the development of several tracts of unimproved land."[9] The annual reports of the Baltimore County Road Engineer describe governmental street development in Baltimore County. These sources are extant from 1908; improvements are discussed by district.[10]

There are a number of other individual sources to trace the growth of suburban Baltimore. While these records are easiest to use for researching specific features of the landscape (such as particular buildings), they can also be sampled and analyzed to follow the changing appearance of the urban fringe.[11]

One group of individual records is tax assessments. These sources provide important information about the physical features of suburban Baltimore. They are available for most of the area from approximately 1896 to the 1920s. Generally, tax assessments provide the address of the property, the name of the owner, descriptions of the land and improvements (including their values), and occassionally notes about personal property.

The tax records for Baltimore City are available for 1896, 1914 to 1918, 1919 to 1923, and 1924 to 1929.[12] The records for 1896 are arranged by ward numbers (address) and are highly descriptive. They provide the street address, the name of the owner, the size of the lot, a description of the improvements, and the value of the property. The next group (1914 to 1918), also arranged by address, includes only the address, the lot size, and the values of the land and improvements. The third group (1919 to 1923) covers the area annexed by the city in 1919. The books are arranged by the (old) district numbers and then alphabetically by the name of the owner. These records provide the address of the property (usually a street address and sometimes a town or subdivision name), the lot size, and the values of the lot and improvements. More extensive descriptions of improvements are provided occassionally as well. The final lot of municipal tax records (1924 to 1929) provide the same information as the second group.

Incomplete tax records for Anne Arundel County are available from 1876 to 1905 and 1911 to 1918.[13] The arrangement and information is very similar from group to group. The first books (covering the period 1876 to 1896) include both districts 3 and 5 and are arranged alphabetically by the name of the owner and chronologically thereunder. They give the location of the assessment (usually an estate name), have brief notes of the improvements and personal property, and give the values of all the above. There is also a name index at the beginning of each book. The records from 1896 only cover district 5. They are also arranged alphabetically by the name of the owner and provide descriptions of the real estate, the improvements, and personal property, as well as the values of these items. The assessments from 1896 to 1905 are similar to those from 1876 to 1896 except that they are only available for district 5. The last group (1911 to 1918) is also incomplete. The available records cover district 3 (for surnames beginning with the letters R to Z) and district 5 (M to Z) only. They are also similar to the first and third groups in the information they provide.

The tax records for Baltimore County are available for 1896, 1911, and 1918.[14] They are similar to the assessment books for Anne Arundel County. The first group

of books (for 1896) includes districts 1, 3, 9, 12, and 13. The books for each district are arranged alphabetically by the surname of the owner and briefly describe the land, improvements, and personal property. The next two groups (1911 and 1918) are complete and are much more informative. They are also arranged alphabetically within each district and give the name of the owner, a description of the land, its location (usually a town or subdivision name), descriptions of the improvements (which are very detailed in 1918), and the assessed values. There are also indexes available for each district.

Another important group of individual records is the land records. These items include subdivision plats (described above) and deeds. These sources are important because they establish the chain of ownership of the land and show how people have changed it.[15]

Deeds are simply the legal instruments of a real estate transaction. They tell the names of the parties involved in the transaction, give a description of the land, provide references to plats (if appropriate), and give a citation for the prior deed. Both the deeds and plats are arranged chronologically according to their entry into the record-keeping system. Access is gained through the liber and folio number assigned to each record. These are at least two ways to find the appropriate sources for the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first method is to use later (current) deeds to find the references for the prior records and trace the ownership of the property backwards from deed to deed. A second method, the grantor-grantee index, can be used if the names of at least one owner is known from the tax records or other sources. The grantor-grantee index is a listing of transactions alphabetically by those giving up control of the land (the grantor) and those gaining control (the grantee). In addition to the names of the parties involved and the date of the transaction, it provides the liber and folio numbers necessary to use the deeds. These two methods can be used for all of the land records for suburban Baltimore.[16]

A third group of records that provides specific information about individual features is photographs. Several repositories in the metropolitan area have good collections of images of suburban Baltimore, including the Peale Museum, the Maryland Historical Society's Prints and Photographs division, the Enoch Pratt Free Library, and the Special Collections of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. Many of the images at the Peale and UMBC are indexed. In addition to these records, many useful photographs can be found in the governmental annual reports of the period.

The final group of individual sources is building permits. These records are quite informative, providing a building's date of construction or alteration, the name of the builder, the cost, and sometimes detailed information about the project. Unfortunately, building permits are only available for Baltimore City. There are two sources to consult for these records. The first is the Master Index to Building Permits, which is kept with the records of the Department of Housing and Community Development at the Baltimore City Archives.[17] They are arranged by the block number and are extant from approximately 1920. A second source is newspapers. Both the *Daily Record* and the *Sun* (from the early twentieth century) listed the building permits granted each week and are very detailed. Unfortunately, they are not indexed.

This essay should be significant for at least two groups of historians: first, those who are interested in the growth and form of the Baltimore metropolitan area in a period of extensive growth; and second, researchers who are investigating the history of individual structures, especially ones that were in Baltimore or Anne Arundel County prior to annexation by Baltimore City.

Notes

1. To see the diversity and great number of works on the topic of suburban America, the reader should see Louis H. Masotti and Deborah Ellis Dennis, *Suburbs, Suburbia, and Suburbanization: A Bibliography* (Monticello, Illinois: Council of Planning Librarians, 1972) and Joseph Zikmund and Deborah Ellis Dennis, *Suburbia: A Guide to the Information Sources* (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1974). For a good introduction to the history of suburbanization in this country, see Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

2. Joseph Arnold notes the lack of studies in his "Suburban Growth and Municipal Annexation in Baltimore, 1745–1918," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 73 (1978): 126n. Other studies of suburban Baltimore include Michael A. Grimes, "The Development of Baltimore's Northwest Corridor, 1919 to 1930" (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 1988); Jacques Kelly, *Peabody Heights to Charles Village: The Historic Development of a Baltimore Community* (Baltimore: Equitable Trust Bank, 1976); Harry G. Schalck, "Mini-Revisionism in City Planning History: The Planners of Roland Park," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 29 (1970): 347–349, and "Planning Roland Park, 1891–1910," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 67 (1972): 419–428; and the Woodlawn History Committee, *Woodlawn, Franklintown, and Hebbville: Three Communities - Two Centuries* (Woodlawn, Md.: Woodlawn Recreation and Parks Council, 1977).

3. On the growth of the area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Arnold, 116–119, and A. Z. Ammen, "History of Baltimore, 1875–1895," in Clayton Coleman Hall, ed., *Baltimore: Its History and People* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1912), pp. 279–280. In this essay, the following areas are considered to be the suburbs: wards 21 and 22 (between 1888 and 1898); wards 11, 12, and 16–19 (between 1898 and 1901); wards 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, and 20 (between 1901 and 1919); and wards 25–28 (between 1919 and 1929) in Baltimore City; districts 1, 3, 9, and 12–15 in Baltimore County; and districts 3 and 5 in Anne Arundel County throughout the period. Both the Baltimore City Archives (hereafter cited as BCA) and the Maryland Room of the Enoch Pratt Free Library (hereafter cited as MD-EPFL) have good collections of ward maps.

4. Topographical survey maps are available at the MD-EPFL and the BCA.

5. The MD-EPFL has a good collection of street maps produced by realtors for promotional purposes. The BCA has an extensive collection of street maps associated with the work of several different municipal agencies, many of which are located in RG. 68 (Published Reports) and are indexed.

6. Subdivision plats are kept with the land records (see below for how to use the land records.) Additional plats can be found in the Safeco Title Company Collection, Ms. 10, BCA. The Safeco Collection is indexed by street name.

7. The Bromley and Sanborn atlases are available at the MD-EPFL and BCA. The Thompson atlas covers the area annexed in 1888 (wards 21 and 22) and is available at the BCA.

8. The index is available on microfilm at the Enoch Pratt Free Library and the Kuhn Library of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County.

9. *Annual Report of the Commissioners for Opening Streets* (Baltimore, 1927), p. 12.

10. Unfortunately, there are no comparable records for Anne Arundel County from the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries.

11. For the use of some of the records described below, see Grimes, "Development of Baltimore's Northwest Corridor," which uses tax assessment records, and Martha J. Vill, "Building Enterprise in Late Nineteenth Century Baltimore," *Journal of Historical Geography,* 12 (1986): 162–181, which uses deeds.

12. They are maintained at the BCA as RG 4, S.3 (1896) and S.4 (1914 to 1929). Records are available for all of the suburban areas described above.

13. These records are kept by the Maryland State Archives (hereafter cited as MSA) with the records of the Anne Arundel County Board of Control and Review.

14. The tax records for Baltimore County for 1896 are located in the MSA; those for 1911 and 1918 are outside Room 30 in the Old County Courthouse on Washington Avenue in Towson.

15. The land records for Baltimore City are maintained by the Superior Court; those for Baltimore County are maintained by the Circuit Court; and those for Anne Arundel County are maintained in the MSA with the records of the Anne Arundel County Register of Wills.

16. Additional access methods for the Baltimore City deeds are described in T. J. Gleason, *Tracing the Ownership of Property in Baltimore City: A Beginner's Guide* (Baltimore: Society for the Preservation of Federal Hill, Montgomery Street, and Fells Point, 1972), which describes block books; and Michael A. Grimes, *A Brief Guide to Tracing the History of Buildings and Other Structures in Baltimore City* (Baltimore: City Archives and Records Management Office, 1988), which describes lot cards.

17. These are maintained as RG 48, S. 53.

Book Reviews

Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718–1775. By A. Roger Ekirch. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987. Pp. xvi, 277. Appendix, bibliography, notes, index. $45.)

The first study of the transportation of British convicts to America since the publication in 1947 of Abbott Emerson Smith's *Colonists in Bondage,* Ekirch's is destined to become the standard work. He revises from 30,000 to 50,000 the number of felons sent to the colonies following passage of the 1718 Transportation Act, nearly one-quarter of all the eighteenth-century British migrants to America. The largest forced migration to the colonies, except African slaves, transports played a key role in fueling America's voracious labor needs. Ekirch shows that the Chesapeake colonies received nearly half the convicts, putting most of them to work alongside slaves in the tobacco fields.

Transportation, the euphemism for the penalty of banishment, had been proposed by colonial propagandists as early as the Hakluyts. Designed to rid the mother country of dangerous offenders without using measures inimical to traditional British freedoms—prisons, a professional police, a coercive bureaucracy—the Transportation Act of 1718 was passed as a direct response to a rising crime wave during the early eighteenth century. Urban riots following the coronation of George I, Jacobite uprisings, and the military demobilization of thousands of toughened young men after the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, raised fears that Britain had lost control of its criminal population. Londoners became reluctant to venture forth into the city at night " 'for fear that their hats and wigs should be snitched from their heads or their swords taken from their sides, or that they may be blinded, knocked down, cut or stabbed' " (p. 15). The ultimate beauty of transportation in the public mind, says Ekirch, was that "it promised to restore social peace without endangering traditional freedoms" (p. 223). Its overriding rationale was neither rehabilitation nor deterrence but rather the exile overseas of Britain's criminal population.

Calling for an unprecedented commitment of public resources, transportation represented a major innovation in the British system of justice. Not the gibbet or the whip but banishment to the colonies was henceforth to be the major means of punishing convicted felons. While transportation pardons had been available before 1718, the new parliamentary act made executive clemency a more routine alternative to the death penalty. Once the capital penalty had been commuted to transportation, merchants contracted to carry them to America at a royal subsidy of up to £5 per convict.

Much romantic lore to the contrary, Ekirch shows persuasively that most transported felons were "reasonably serious malefactors" (p. 5). Neither petty thieves nor hardened murderers, the typical transports were grand larcenists with well established records of criminal behavior. Notwithstanding Daniel Defoe's portrayal of transported convicts in *Moll Flanders* and *Colonel Jack,* Ekirch emphasizes that most were not victims of an arbitrary, capricious criminal system, but were those who had had repeated brushes with the law. Nor surprisingly, most convicts were young, single males, minimally skilled—those most vulnerable to economic dislocation. They were, in most ways, not greatly different from the swarming "masterless men" of a century earlier.

Unlike indentured servants, whom they so closely resembled in social composition, transports were profoundly reluctant to leave their homeland. In one of the most arresting passages in the book, Ekirch shows how some convicted felons begged to be whipped,

branded, or even hanged rather than dispatched to America. Mary Stanford, convicted as a thief, asked to be hanged rather than transported because " 'living in foreign Parts was worse than a disgraceful and shameful Death at Home' " (p. 64).

Such reluctance should not surprise. As Ekirch observes, "profit, not penal policy, set the fate of British exiles" (p. 132). The crown's involvement in the transportation system ended with the convicts' transferral to the merchant contractors. The merchants alone were responsible for the transportation, care, and disposition of the convicts in America. Chained belowdecks in often fetid and overcrowded conditions, convicts spent the ocean crossing in circumstances not dramatically different from those suffered by African slaves. Sold for periods of seven or fourteen years, the transports faced hard work, uncertain maintenance, and perpetual hostility from the local populace. Tellingly, Ekirch points out that, like slaves, convicts were perceived to lack "virtue," the "personal quality of self-control which freed individuals from evil habits and passions" (p. 151). Seen as vicious, even ungovernable, convicts faced few prospects of eventual integration into the larger colonial society. Those few who did find a niche in the colonial economy usually did so by dint of valuable craft skills or prior possession of capital. However, if opportunity was lower than we once suspected, so too was convict crime. Very few transports were found guilty of major criminal offenses in America, a fact Ekirch attributes to the closeness of community scrutiny in the colonies, as well as the paucity of large urban areas. America was not seen as, and did not become, a land of opportunity for convicts.

Although transportation provided British America with an inexpensive supply of white labor, most colonists apparently loathed the system. Not only did convict labor debase the status of ordinary servants, it also provided the colonists with a chilling view of the contempt with which they were beheld in Whitehall. Indeed, Britain's willingness to use the colonies as a dumping ground for its disorderly classes became one of the most explosive imperial issues before the Stamp Act. As Benjamin Franklin's celebrated proposal to send "Mother England" rattlesnakes in exchange for convicts attests, the colonists bridled at this open proclamation of their secondary status within the empire. And, although Ekirch fails to make the connection, the heightened sense of the Americans' peculiar righteousness produced by the Great Awakening doubtless made Britain's transportation system the more odious in their eyes. The colonists' willingness after 1765 to view the mother country as corrupt, even degraded, looks less surprising in such a light.

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The Editor, the Bluenose and the Prostitute: H. L. Mencken's History of the "Hatrack" Censorship Case. Edited by Carl Bode. (Boulder, Colo.: Roberts Rinehart, 1988. Pp. 174. Photographs, illustrations. $19.50.)

Henry Louis Mencken rarely equivocated, but he was especially adamant about freedom of speech, a right that he valued above all others. "[I am] strongly opposed to all sorts of censorships," he declared in 1937, "whether official or volunteer. I believe that any man accused of circulating indecent literature should have his day in open court, and that until he gets it he should be unmolested by any sort of intimidation. Every censorship, however good its intent, degenerates inevitably into the sort of tyranny that the Watch and Ward Society fanatics so long exercised in Boston" (p. 42).

Mencken was writing eleven years after the uproar over "Hatrack," an essay that appeared in the *American Mercury* and generated the most significant censorship case during the Baltimorean's career of half a century. The *New York Times,* in fact, likened the event to a "second Scopes trial." A number of Mencken scholars have previously discussed this case in books and journals. But the appearance of *The Editor, the Bluenose and the Prostitute*

(a wonderfully evocative title) marks the first publication of the exhaustive record compiled by Mencken himself, who was always mindful of posterity. In his vibrant and inimitable prose, characteristically including the most caustic comments made about himself and his magazine, Mencken expressed astonishment and disgust that such proceedings could happen in a supposedly civilized country during the twentieth century. The Baltimorean put together, in Carl Bode's words, "a unique document in its magisterial mix of scorn and sociology. After Milton's *Areopagitica* it had no celebrated predecessors" (p. 12).

The foremost Mencken scholar, Bode has written the most comprehensive biography (*Mencken,* 1969) and edited *The Young Mencken: The Best of His Work* (1973) and *The New Mencken Letters* (1977). In addition to Mencken's record and its history, Bode includes here the text of "Hatrack," a chapter from Herbert Asbury's then-forthcoming autobiography *Up from Methodism,* and his own substantial and enlightening introduction. Dr. Bode details Mencken's response, as both author and editor, to the "wowsers" and "smut-hounds" whom the Baltimorean found so offensive and dangerous, to the national mentality that had never cast off the pernicious influence of Puritanism—"the haunting fear," Mencken remarked memorably, "that someone, somewhere, may be happy" (p. 4).

Mencken repeatedly attacked what he saw as the moral mania plaguing American letters, the sensibility that insisted upon judging literature not by its artistic merit but by its moral orthodoxy. Mencken defended Theodore Dreiser and James Branch Cabell when *The "Genius"* and *Jurgen* were challenged by the censors. He responded with equal ferocity when the April 1926 issue of the *Mercury,* carrying Asbury's essay about a Missouri prostitute so named for her angular figure, was banned in Boston.

This innocuous piece was hardly, by any reasonable standards, worthy of censorship. Asbury does not graphically depict sexual activity, nor does he morally affirm his protagonist. Although he does scoff at self-serving evangelists, the prurience of small-town life, and the hypocrisy of the town's supposed Christians, he says nothing that others had not already said far more scathingly. Yet the Reverend J. Franklin Chase, secretary of Boston's Watch and Ward Society, found the essay full of "filthy and degrading descriptions" (p. 50). From 1918 to 1926, Chase and his organization suppressed between fifty and seventy-five books.

The line of battle—the iconoclast versus the preacher, the civil libertarian versus the censor—could not have been drawn more clearly. After a magazine vendor was arrested, Mencken hurried to Boston, sold Chase a copy of the offending issue, and was arrested himself. If convicted of publishing obscenity, he could have faced two years in jail. After being tried the next day and acquitted the following, Mencken exulted in his apparent victory, but he had badly underestimated his opponent's resourcefulness.

Chase succeeded in having the *Mercury* barred from the mail. This time, Mencken was not even given the chance to defend his magazine. "We wondered," Arthur Garfield Hays, one of the monthly's lawyers, later wrote acidly, "why action had been taken without a hearing. Quack medicines and fraudulent stock options are accorded this privilege. Murderous cancer cures circulate, sometimes for months, before they are barred from the mails. But then, they are not obscene—merely fatal."

During the ensuing legal maneuvers, Mencken managed to keep the magazine in circulation, but at considerable cost. The *Mercury* lost advertising revenue, and fearing that the magazine might lose its second-class mailing privilege (a disastrous situation), Mencken pulled a potentially controversial essay from the May issue, which had already gone to the printer. For the first time, the guardians of public virtue forced the editor to reject a piece that he had accepted for publication. Moreover, Mencken found himself vilified by a number of his fellow journalists who, failing to see that his cause was theirs, concluded wrongly that the "Hatrack" affair was only a cheap publicity stunt. One news-

paper editor, for example, scorned the Baltimorean as an enemy of "the home, the church, the law, and order" (p. 104).

Mencken was an exhausting opponent, and Chase died before the end of 1926. "We killed him," Mencken concluded. Perhaps they did, but only the man died, not his cause. Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* was banned in Boston that year, and Sinclair Lewis's *Elmer Gantry* the next. In 1929 the port of Philadelphia banned the works of Rabelais. Mencken finally came to suspect that censorship was a disease that would never be eradicated in America. Although its germs might lie dormant for a while, the plague would inevitably return. And while timid people either acquiesced or offered only tacit support, it would remain for bold individuals to do battle once again. As we know only too well, posterity has confirmed Mencken's premonition.

VINCENT FITZPATRICK
Enoch Pratt Free Library

Crowning the Gravelly Hill: A History of the Roland Park-Guilford-Homeland District. By James F. Waesche. (Baltimore, Md.: Maclay and Associates, 1987. Pp. 125. Illustrations. $18.95.)

If the genre of local history writing frequently has been plagued by what Baltimore social historian Linda Shopes has called its penchant for "trivia and nostalgia," James Waesche does an admirable job of resisting such pitfalls, casting his story of the Roland Park Company's development of Baltimore's northern wedge of elite suburbs in the context of suburbanization as a social phenomenon that re-shaped the modern city. Attentive to the push and pull of suburban development, Waesche provides a valuable profile of the class vision of Edward Bouton, the company's president and guiding hand. Bouton's skillful blending of the physical and social dimensions of land development and design masterfully produced what Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., interpreted as a vision to "catch the whole of the better class suburban development of the city" (p. 86). Waesche acknowledges that elite suburbanization may have had deleterious effects upon cities, draining their resources and accentuating the separation of wealth and poverty; however, his primary focus upon Bouton and the genius of his accomplishment leaves these implications largely unexplored.

While Waesche's volume sometimes includes anecdotal accounts—some nostalgic, others substantive—which may be of personal interest to residents of "the District," its chief contribution to Baltimore area local history is its use of primary sources to chronicle the important saga of Edward Bouton and the Roland Park Company, especially the Roland Park Collection at Cornell University's Olin Library, the Olmsted Papers at the Library of Congress, and Roland Park Company publications in the Maryland Department of the Enoch Pratt Free Library. The volume's forty-five pages of photos and illustrations are primarily from these collections, the Peale Museum, and a number of private sources.

Following a preliminary chapter on the mix of estates and settlements that pre-dated Roland Park Company development of the elevated land bounded roughly by Falls and York roads, Waesche handles social history by highlighting changes in the late-nineteenth-century city which led the social elite to abandon older prestigious preserves like Mount Vernon Place and Eutaw Place and to seek refuge in suburban retreats, an impulse mirrored in the aspirations of upper-income members of the newly emerging middle class. "Rejecting the city as transformed by the Industrial Revolution . . . the middle class almost *en masse* seized the revolution's technological tools and used them to create its supreme expression of self-differentiation: the suburb" (p. 34). Similarly, he sketches the evolution of a romantic "arcadian myth" of suburban living which captured the imagination of a whole class, a vision probably given no more significant representation than in

the partnership between developer Bouton and the landscape design firm of Olmsted, Olmsted, and Elliot (which carried on the legacy of Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr.) in the plans for Roland Park and, eventually, for Guilford and Homeland.

The Olmsteds were not initially involved in the development of Roland Park. Indeed, Waesche emphasizes that the primary decisions from the beginning rested with Kansas City-bred Bouton, who guided the operation of the company as its president from its formation in 1891 until his retirement in 1935. It was Bouton who came up with creative solutions for providing the private water, sewer, and street railway connections that were the prerequisites for a successful suburban enterprise. Establishment of the street railway affords an interesting insight into Bouton's mode of operation and his class-based social vision. Facing foot-dragging and opposition from the Baltimore County Commissioners on his plans to extend street rail tracks along the new Roland Avenue, he ordered his construction supervisors to have materials and men in readiness to lay the rails in a single day, thus presenting the commissioners with a *fait accompli*. The route of the rail line was equally instructive: it extended (as an elevated) into Baltimore City along Guilford Avenue to the heart of the financial and governmental district from which Bouton planned to recruit members of Baltimore's elite as residents. By 1893, the year the new line opened, the development boasted its first houses—Victorian rustics in Shingle and Queen Anne styles—and work had begun on the company's shopping center, which, like the common stables built behind it, represented a conscious effort to restrict commercial and other non-residential uses.

In Waesche's account, two Bouton decisions later in the 1890s combined to provide the all-important social definition he so clearly sought for Roland Park. First, in 1898, he was successful in transforming the golf club into the Baltimore Country Club, whose board represented many of the city's socially prominent. Second, he engaged the Olmsted firm to take over design of Roland Park's new sections, planning Olmsted's characteristic curvilinear roadways for "villa sites": "Villas, a country club, the foremost landscape architects in the country . . . they all add up to the conclusion that Bouton had finally decided to create a suburb that was absolutely unimpeachably top drawer" (p. 69).

The class vision represented by Bouton in his collaboration with Olmsted reached its culmination in the development of Guilford, the former McDonald-Abell estate, which the Roland Park Company began to develop in the early 1910s. Reached via a sweeping boulevard (Greenway), which matched the University Avenue-Roland Avenue "driveway" Bouton had eventually achieved for Roland Park, Guilford's curved private roadways soon boasted some of the largest mansion-style homes in the area, now in the trend-setting Georgian style. Bouton's development strategy depended upon refinement of a tactic employed initially in sections of Roland Park. Clearly concerned about existing and future downscale settlement along the section's eastern (York Road) and northern (Cold Spring Lane) boundaries, Bouton instructed the Olmsted designers to turn the development's back to those sides. This strategy was accomplished by curving roadways inwardly and erecting a buffer along the margins, consisting of cluster housing (built by the company itself to insure its border-creating strategy) and—lest those methods seem too subtle—a stone wall. Waesche is attentive to the social implications of Bouton's vision, just as he is to the combination of social status and social snobbety that inevitably would become associated with residence in "the District" (which in the 1920s added Homeland, whose later development was stalled by the adversity of the Depression).

However, the full implication of class relations in terms of social bias and structured inequality are not always addressed as fully as might be warranted. For example, Waesche notes that restrictive covenants were an integral part of Bouton's development strategy but chooses to discuss them more in terms of the issue of property use than in terms of their racial and religious overtones. He rightfully cites the "arrogance" of a 1909 Woman's

Club speech on the promiscuity of mill girls in neighboring Hampden and follows with a brief discussion of blacks who lived in a small Cross Keys settlement some of whom served as gardeners and domestics for Roland Park families. Yet these are among the few explicit references to class relations. And the latter discussion quickly turns to children's activities in Roland Park, employing the nostalgically toned line, "Kids were busy being kids" (p. 83).

Waesche's volume chronicles the diversification of the company's operations from the 1920s through the late 1940s, when—the victim of overextension, changing times, and a complex set of class and racial relations that would give suburbanization new shape and form in post-World War II America—it withdrew from active development. While Waesche's slim, amply illustrated volume cannot provide a full consideration of these elite garden suburbs as an integral part of Baltimore's history, it does offer an admirable and well researched glimpse of the primary actors and forces that left such a lasting physical and social imprint on Baltimore's northern wedge.

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Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of His Writings. Edited by Karen Ordahl Kupperman. (Chapel Hill and London: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1988. Pp. vi, 290. Maps, illustrations, index. $32.50 cloth; $10.95 paper.)

Some books are best read cover-to-cover. Others allow more judicious probing—a glance here, a foray there, a taste of their style and substance. Karen Kupperman's selected and annotated sampler of Captain John Smith's writing is one of the latter. It is a splendid yet concise introduction to one of early America's most compelling figures and a treasure trove on the infancy of American colonization. It includes Smith's first-hand account of Jamestown's ordeal, his ethnography of Chesapeake Bay's Algonquin Indians, and his detailed portrait of Maryland's coastal environment on the eve of European intrusion.

Kupperman brings to her task both the erudition of a scholar intimately acquainted with the early colonies and their sources and a critical sensitivity that allows her to portray all of John Smith's wonderfully inconsistent *personas*—his bombast and posturing, his piety and loyalty, his bravery, ambition, and curiosity. She necessarily touches on Smith's "Life and Legend," but her selection and organization of other topics reflects current trends in historical scholarship (including ethnohistory, environmental history, and a concern with models of colonization). It is this focus that justifies yet another treatment of Captain John Smith, one that reaffirms history as an enterprise constantly being renewed and redefined.

Kupperman's introduction establishes her thesis that Smith "saw, before anyone else, that America offered the chance of a new kind of middling order" (p. 22), that "the promise of America was a bourgeois society" (p. 239). Drawing on Smith's nine written works—including *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles . . .* (1624) and *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith . . .* (1630)—Kupperman presents her subject as leader, ethnographer, naturalist, and theorist of colonization; she punctuates the selections with interpretive commentary and footnotes, which themselves delight while decoding the richness of Shakespearean English. Short chapters on "The Published Works of Capt. John Smith" and "Suggestions for Further Reading" enhance the book. All selections come from the late Philip L. Barbour's definitive three-volume edition of *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580–1631)*, which in price and size is beyond most readers.

No matter how rich the context in which Kupperman places his life, Smith himself dominates these pages like a volcano towering over a tropical island. A central figure in the redefinition of English imperial expansion from a movement based on plunder to one grounded in colonization, Smith wrote as only a zealous missionary can (and, incidentally, helped to create the autobiographical genre). Those were years when our own sharp division between factual and fictional presentations did not prevail, and his braggadocio—not to mention his bloodletting and imperialism—offend many modern readers. They necessarily color our impression of Smith, even when measured by Elizabethan and Jacobean standards. Yet, despite those traits, the man has a fundamental appeal. A master of languages, politics, seamanship, and warfare; a skilled observer and cartographer; a prolific author; a man who crusaded eastward against the "infidel" Turks and sailed westward to the New World, John Smith bridged the late-medieval and early-modern periods. He lived by his principles, survived by his wits, and strove to implement a foresighted vision of colonization. As Kupperman says, "John Smith deserves to be read" (p. v).

Part one of this edition consists of the picaresque, martial, and maritime adventure of the young Smith, the apprentice who desired "secretly to get to Sea" (p. 35), jousted his way to a coat of arms, and roamed Europe from the English Channel to Russia. Part five, Smith's discourse on "The Future of Colonization," is primarily for historians. Parts two through four, on the bay environment and the Indians' lives, speak most directly to non-specialist Maryland readers, especially to those watermen, yachtsmen, and environmentalists familiar with the bay.

We still use the Indian and European place-names that Smith bestowed during his 1608 expedition: the "Easterne shore," "Smiths Isles" (p. 87), the "Wighcocomoco" River (p. 90), and the "river Patawomeck" (p. 93). We are still awed by the summer's "greatest gusts with thunder and heat" that he described (p. 211). And our perception of the environment alternates, as did his, between a coldly calculating view of its potential for "marchandize and commodities" (p. 207) and our delight at creatures like the beast the Indians called *Aroughcan* (a raccoon)—"much like a badger, but useth to live on trees as Squirrels doe" (p. 217). John Smith's spirit, as well as his nomenclature, remains with us.

Authors rely on editors, much as showmen rely on their advance teams, and John Smith has been ably served by Karen Kupperman. Yet so has history. Kupperman shies away from hero-portraiture, pointing out the irony of Smith as "a self-made man" who nonetheless "always depended on the patronage of noble men and women" (p. 1). She also employs her editor's prerogative to transform what could have been primarily a monument to Smith into a tribute to Virginia and Maryland's indigenous peoples. *Captain John Smith* is a book for both historically minded readers and specialists—one easily taken up and put down and one that will last for years.

W. Jeffrey Bolster
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The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction. By Bernard Bailyn. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986. Pp. xii, 177. $16.95.)

Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution. By Bernard Bailyn, with the assistance of Barbara DeWolfe. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986. Pp. xxvii, 668. $30.)

The past quarter century has witnessed an explosion of scholarship in early American history, Bernard Bailyn notes, "a wealth of research and writing concentrated on a relatively short period of time that is perhaps unique in western historiography" (*Peopling of*

British North America, p. 6). Unfortunately, this rich scholarship has led to confusion and disarray in the field as a whole as "the sheer amount of accumulated information has overwhelmed the effective organizing principles" that once gave it coherence (ibid.). The subject now needs to put aside detailed, technical studies for "a fresh look at the whole story, and a general interpretation . . . that draws together the great mass of available material . . . and that provides a framework for a comprehensive, developmental narrative of early American history" (p. 7).

The Peopling of British North America offers such a framework. Bailyn proposes detaching early America from the national historiographic tradition and reintegrating it into the early modern era through a focus on migration, "the movement of people outward from their original centers of habitation—the centrifugal *Volkerwanderungen* that involved an untraceable multitude of local, small-scale exoduses and colonizations, the continuous creation of new frontiers and ever-widening circumferences, the complex intermingling of peoples in the expanding border areas," culminating in the massive shift of Africans and Europeans to the Western Hemisphere (pp. 4–5).

This perspective yields four propositions that provide the organizing themes of Bailyn's framework. The first sees the peopling of British North America as initially "an extension outward and an expression in scale of domestic mobility" that later became a new, transforming force in European population history (p. 20). The second insists on the diversity of settlement and development processes in British North America and interprets the "fortunes of the arriving newcomers . . . against this varied and shifting background" (pp. 49–50). The third identifies demand for labor and land speculation as the major stimuli to population recruitment and settlement, arguing that "they drew on different socio-economic groups and involved different modes of integration into society" (p. 60). Proposition four contends that early American culture is best understood "as the exotic far western periphery, a marchland of the metropolitan European culture system" (p. 112).

While *The Peopling of British North America* stands on its own as a compelling commentary on current scholarship, bursting with suggestions for fresh research, it also serves as an introduction to a multi-volume study that will explore Bailyn's propositions in detail. *Voyagers to the West* is the first installment in that project. If subsequent contributions even approach *Voyagers* in its bold generalizations, mastery of detail, and lively presentation, we will have a series of major significance, one that will assure the continuing vitality of early American histoty as a field of inquity.

Had it not been for the outbreak of war between Great Britain and its American colonies, Bailyn notes, historians, left free to concentrate on other issues, might have paid more attention to a major process interrupted by the Revolution. That process was a great upsurge in migration that brought nearly a quarter of a million people to British North America from 1760 to 1775 and that fueled a rapid extension of settlement into the backcountry and the trans-Appalachian west. *Voyagers to the West* brings that process into sharp focus and rescues from obscurity one of the central developments of early American history.

Voyagers is organized in several sections, each with a different focus and a distinct analytical style, but all centered on a register of 9,364 emigrants who left England and Scotland for the Western Hemisphere between December 1773 and March 1776. These remarkable documents record a wide range of information, including the name, age, gender, occupation, residence, and destination of each migrant, along with brief summary comments under the heading "for what purposes they leave this Country." The first section, written in the mode of descriptive exposition, sets the background for the study by exploring the origins of the register in the concerns of British officials over the rising volume of migration to America and by assessing the quality of the documents.

Part two provides a quantitative analysis of the register, skillfully teasing out patterns and regularities from the mass of individual observations. The great migration of the mid-1770s, Bailyn shows, was not a unified process but rather contained two separate migrant streams, each with distinct characteristics. The "metropolitan" pattern brought young men in their early twenties from the Thames Valley to Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Most were artisans or craftsmen, as yet unmarried, who travelled to America as individuals rather than in family groups and usually financed their passage by signing on as indentured servants. The "provincial" pattern, by contrast, brought substantial families from northern England, Yorkshire, and Scotland to North Carolina, New York, and Nova Scotia. Part three offers a structural analysis of the labor market that produced the "metropolitan" migration pattern, supplemented by a series of graphic representations based on detailed newspaper advertisements for runaway servants that convey vivid impressions of how these workers may have looked. Parts four and five explore "provincial" migration, with narrative accounts of families moving from northern Britain to the coastal extremities of North America (Florida, the Gulf Coast, Nova Scotia) and to that "great inland arc" known as the backcountry.

Taken together, these two books are a remarkable achievement, for they both outline a new approach to early America and show by example how that outline might look once the details are filled in. But has Bailyn succeeded with the larger aim of elaborating a comprehensive framework capable of restoring to the field the coherence it recently lost? I think not, for his four central propositions are neither sufficiently comprehensive nor radical enough for the task. Bailyn admits that they are limited in coverage, failing to "involve to any significant extent the movements of either of the two non-Caucasian peoples—the Native Americans and the Africans—whose histories are so vital a part of the story" (*Peopling of British North America,* p. 20). Any compelling new paradigm must integrate Indians and blacks into early American history, both for the centrality of their role and because they have been the subject of some of the most creative recent scholarship. Nor does Bailyn follow through on his call for a radical break with the United States national historiographic tradition. He argues that British America must be placed within an early-modern context and pays detailed attention to Atlantic Canada, but he omits the Caribbean colonies and makes the region that became the United States the primary unit of analysis. The new paradigm Bailyn calls for must be more comprehensive and must break more sharply with the historiography that views early America as simply "the colonial background" to the United States. It must start with that world historical process in which Old World peoples, once largely isolated from one another, were brought together through the militant expansion of European capitalism to create a new world. It can then go on to look at British America as a kind of historical laboratory, a place where one can examine some of the forms that the New World took in hope of understanding its major dynamic processes.

While *The Peopling of British North America* and *Voyagers to the West* are unlikely to reorganize the field, they are major accomplishments. They provide an exciting synthesis of recent scholarship, a guide to new research opportunities, and a detailed analysis of one of the most significant and least studied migrations to British America. Bailyn may not have assembled the new paradigm the field requires, but he has given us a big nudge in the right direction. More important, he has launched an exciting new project that will help keep early America at the cutting edge of historical scholarship.

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The United States in 1800: Henry Adams Revisited. By Noble E. Cunningham, Jr. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988. Pp. vii, 73. Index. $14.95.)

Most historians would like to be able to write not only accurately about the past, but also with style and clarity. They also hope that the history they write will have a lasting impact upon our understanding of the past. Not many scholars attain all these goals, but Henry Adams, who died over seventy years ago, came reasonably close. His *History of the United States of America during the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison* (9 volumes, New York, 1888–1891) has long been considered brilliant history and the best of literary craftsmanship. The first six chapters of the history of Jefferson's administration, which was reprinted in 1955 under the title *The United States in 1800* has gone through seventeen printings and has sold 131,000 copies. It is still in print. Obviously this portrayal of the United States on the eve of the election of Jefferson has been widely read in the post-World War II era and has shaped the views of a wide spectrum of students.

Professor Noble Cunningham, a recognized authority on Jefferson and his presidency, now takes a fresh look at just how accurate, in the light of recent scholarship, Adams's portrait of the United States in 1800 is. In brief essays, delivered as the Douglas Southall Freeman Lectures at the University of Richmond in 1986, he examines three areas that Adams treated—society, the economy and political culture—and finds his portrayal wanting.

Adams described a backward static society in 1800, one that he was subsequently to depict in his *History* as drastically changed by 1816. Cunningham argues that Adams was too much influenced by how different the 1880s were from 1800 and by the conservative Federalist perspective of that time. And in comparing the United States with England and France he failed to take into account the dramatic demographic changes that had and were taking place as well as very real progress in cultural and intellectual areas. Newspapers, for example, which he tended to ignore, had grown in number from 100 in 1790 to 200 in 1800. Regions were also slighted. Adams's South was Virginia and South Carolina, and he almost totally ignored the West, which was the "most dynamically growing part of the country" (p. 5).

Economically the country was also pictured as in a "backward state" (p. 29). But Cunningham, following Douglas North, points out that the country in 1800 was in the middle of a period of "sustained economic growth" and "unparalleled prosperity" (p. 27). He argues that the economy should be contrasted with that prior to 1800 (e.g. there were three banks in the country in 1790 and twenty-nine by 1800) rather than with 1875 and later. By not utilizing Alexander Hamilton's "Report on Manufactures," Adams failed to take note of the substantial beginnings of industrial America.

But what concerns Professor Cunningham most is Adams's failure to recognize that the United States was politically a "remarkably mature" country (p. 45) and to perceive the important place of politics in the "social fabric" of the new nation. Politics was the "essence of the new republican society" (p. 56) and performed an important integrative function. Jefferson's election, Cunningham asserts, was tremendously important and brought to office not a Virginia Republican, as described by Adams, but "a party leader who had national support and who articulated" a widely shared "political vision" (p. 61). Sectionalism, as a major factor in political life, was yet to come.

So in the end Cunningham, while conceding that Adams should not be criticized for the scholarly limitations of his own time, believes that he failed adequately to study the period before 1800 and was too much influenced by the age in which he lived. And as a supreme literary craftsman, he used the device of a backward United States in 1800, one that was almost medieval in character and that by 1816 "was ready to march into modern times." This, he asserts, is "in no small measure . . . the problem with his [Adams's]

account as a work of history" (p. 63). Adams the literary craftsman dominated Adams the historian.

Yet one would not want Adams's *History* to be discarded and not read, for the language is marvelous and truths remain. Who can resist, for example, his capsule description of American society in 1800?

> American society . . . except for negro slavery . . . was sound and healthy in every part. Stripped for the hardest work, every muscle firm and elastic, every ounce of brain ready for use, and not a trace of superfluous flesh on his nervous and supple body, the American stood in the world a new order of man. From Maine to Florida, society was in this respect the same, and was so organized to use its human forces with more economy than could be approached by any society in the world elsewhere. Not only were artificial barriers carefully removed, but every influence that appeal to ordinary ambition was applied. No brain or appetite active enough to be conscious of stimulants could fail to answer the intense incentive. Few humans, however sluggish, could long resist the temptation to acquire power; and the elements of power were to be had in America almost for the asking. Reversing the old world system, the American stimulant increased in energy as it reached the lowest more ignorant class, dragging and whirling them upward as in a blast furnace. The penniless and homeless Scotch or Irish immigrant was caught and consumed by it; for every stroke of the axe and the hoe made him a capitalist and made a gentleman of his children. Wealth was the strongest agent for moving the mass of mankind; but political power was hardly less tempting to the more intelligent and better educated swarms of American born citizens, and the instinct of activity, once created, seemed heritable and permanent in the race.
>
> Compared with the lithe young figure, Europe was actually in decrepitude (Henry Adams, *The United States in 1800* [Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1955], pp. 114–15).

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In Pursuit of Reason: The Life of Thomas Jefferson. By Noble E. Cunningham, Jr. (Southern Biography Series. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987. Pp. xvi, 400. Notes, illustrations, bibliographical note, index. $24.95.)

Thomas Jefferson: A Strange Case of Mistaken Identity. By Alf J. Mapp, Jr. (Lanham, Maryland, New York, and London: Madison Books, 1987. Pp. xv, 487. Notes, illustrations, bibliography, index. $22.95.)

It is a curious phenomenon that the bicentennial of the writing and adoption of the U.S. Constitution has generated renewed interest in Thomas Jefferson, who participated not at all in the first and only marginally in the second. These two biographies represent two divergent manifestations of that interest. Both authors are lifelong students of Jefferson and his times and have published extensively on different aspects of his life, activities, and surroundings. In careful, readable prose, Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., wrote his one-volume biography "to bridge the gap between public interest in Jefferson and the world of scholarship that has widened our knowledge of the man and his times" (p. xiv). In a contrastingly ebullient, descriptive style, Alf J. Mapp, Jr., sets out in the first of two projected volumes to unravel the complex and paradoxical human at the center of what he considers an oft-mistaken Jeffersonian identity.

Cunningham's thesis is embodied in his title. Jefferson's public career and private life alike illustrate his commitment to the centrality of reason as the best instrument for

ordering the affairs of men and of nations. In twenty-two closely reasoned chapters, eighteen of which focus on Jefferson's public career, Cunningham weighs and evaluates the scholarly literature of the past twenty years. He judiciously balances occasional criticism of Jefferson's actions against praise for his enlightenment philosophy and provides for the lay and professional reader alike a useful summary of Jefferson's contributions as revolutionary activist, Virginia governor, diplomat, president, and party leader.

Though he assesses episodes in Jefferson's personal life, dismissing the Sally Hemings stories outright as belonging "in a work of fiction, not of history" (p. 116), Cunningham is most interested in a balanced approach to Jefferson's public career. Without disputing Garry Wills on the importance to Jefferson of Scottish enlightenment thinkers, Cunningham focuses on the broader realm of Jefferson's legislative and legal experience and the depth of his knowledge of all the enlightenment literature as crucial to his emergence as the penman of revolutionary reason. As such, Jefferson frequently recycled key writings: the July 1774 resolutions of Albemarle County became the basis for similar resolutions Jefferson drafted for Virginia and then evolved into the "Summary View of the Rights of British America"; the draft of the Virginia constitution became the basis for the preamble of the Declaration of Independence and its listing of grievances against George III. Jefferson might indeed have had real use for the wordprocessing capability that a recent imaginative computer advertisement pictured him employing!

Cunningham, like the Jefferson he portrays, follows a rational middle road through controversial alternatives. He is not uncritical of Jefferson. He finds Jefferson's philosophical detachment partially responsible for Virginia's unpreparedness for the British invasion of the state while he was governor. That same detachment made Jefferson remarkably uninterested in Shays's rebellion in 1786–1787. While Americans were anguishing over their inability to reestablish trade networks, Jefferson was in Marseilles, enjoying a solitary barge trip by canal; the French Revolution clearly caught his imagination far more than did the constitutional convention in America. Cunningham describes Jefferson's continued optimism about the French uprising even as it moved toward more violent cataclysm and attributes it to his general ability to stand apart from the current reality around him in favor of a larger vision.

In analyzing Jefferson's skills as an administrator Cunningham is at his best. He credits Jefferson with evolving in 1790 the first clear foreign policy goal of the new nation: navigation of the Mississippi River. Cunningham judiciously weighs the evidence in the Jefferson-Hamilton controversy, defending Jefferson against suspicions of disloyalty to George Washington over the Genêt affair and recognizing that Hamilton and Jefferson were on a collision course, nevertheless absolves Hamilton of the conspiratorial intent suggested by Julian Boyd and others. As secretary of state, as in the office of governor, and later as president, Cunningham's Jefferson is a careful, meticulous administrator under whose tenure in the executive branch close and influential relations were developed between congressional committees and the administrative staff of executive departments.

As president, Cunningham's Jefferson alternated between the wise administrator and the detached philosopher, making only occasional slips in administrative judgment; after ignoring early warnings of Burr's activities because they were printed in the Federalist press, Cunningham argues, the president later overreacted. Rather than seeking embargo as a coercive measure, Jefferson saw it as a cautionary move, holding back from exercising a leading role in its congressional enactment; Cunningham believes him then a captive of that policy, defending it with actions that he knew were contrary to his own principles.

Where Cunningham focused on Jefferson's public life, Mapp is most at home describing the world in which he moved and the person he became. His seventeen chapters carry Jefferson only up to the election of 1800 and draw on a wide range of materials to

flesh out the dimensions of a private life Jefferson himself preferred to keep hidden. Cunningham's Jefferson is always reflective, cool, and controlled; Mapp's Jefferson is an ardent youth and man, captured by the intellectual excitement of the Enlightenment under the tutelage of Wythe and Small, captivated by the charms of Rebecca Burwell and a flirtation with Elizabeth Walker, "thoroughly disconcerted by the realization that, far from being a complete man of reason, he was a creature of passion and impulse" (p. 45). Mapp is sometimes discursive, waxing eloquent on the colors of a Virginia fall, describing in glowing detail the dress and appearance of the many characters Jefferson encountered, showing off at length his own knowledge of Virginia genealogy and local history. Immersed in Jefferson's own writings (quoted sometimes at too great a length) though not immune to the temptation to refute other biographers (like Fawn Brodie) whom he feels have gone astray, Mapp finds in Jefferson an admirable blend of reason and impulse.

Jefferson's recurrent headaches seem to Mapp to reflect real and painful contradictions; "though he placed . . . emphasis on republican simplicity, he always required a great deal of personal service" (p. 210). In justifying his trip to Nimes as a pretext to carry on diplomatic negotiations, notes Mapp, Jefferson was "unexpectedly carried away by his own ruse . . . his aesthetic propensities warring with his utilitarian convictions" (p. 254). The Sally Hemings story, which Mapp will discuss more fully in a second volume, is dismissed as a claim "that would be laughed out of court" (p. 264). The Maria Cosway affair is treated more seriously. In his biography, Cunningham observed that Jefferson was clearly in love during his first interlude with her, acknowledged the accuracy of Dumas Malone's assessment of the "superior claims of sentiment over reason" in the "head versus heart" dialogue, but concluded "that reason ultimately prevailed in ordering Jefferson's life" in this as in every other aspect (p. 105). Mapp examines the incident more fully as an example of the swings of mood of a man in whom the heart clearly ruled the head both in the event itself and the remarkable literary dialogue it inspired. Seen through Mapp's skillful and sympathetic pen, that affair (of the heart if not of the body) and the larger interlude in his personal and political life that his years in France provided, brought Jefferson to a new level of maturity. Writing of Houdon's bust of Jefferson and what it tells us of his development, Mapp summarizes him in 1789 as "a man who had traded precocity for wisdom. Somewhere in a new social and intellectual milieu, he had discovered himself and come to terms with what he had found" (p. 273).

Each biography will attract a different audience. Cunningham aims at the scholar and the more serious lay reader of history; Mapp provides a lively, readable, account of a well-known revolutionary figure that will reach a wide popular audience (the book has already been featured as a Book of the Month Club selection). That distinction should not distract scholars from taking Mapp as seriously as they will Cunningham. Combined, the two works give us a rich and complex portrait of Jefferson, deeply informed by the well-edited primary source materials published during the last two decades.

CONSTANCE B. SCHULZ
University of South Carolina

The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family, Volume 2. *Charles Willson Peale: The Artist as Museum Keeper, 1791–1810.* Edited by Lillian B. Miller with Sidney Hart and David C. Ward. (New Haven and London: Published for the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, by Yale University Press, 1988. pp. xlii, 1,318. Two parts. Illustrations, appendixes, index. $105.00)

Charles Willson Peale remarked in his diary on 12 June 1804 that Charles Carroll of Carrollton's garden in Annapolis was enclosed by a brick wall lying beside Spa Creek. The

wall ran about 150 yards and was "built in the water in a straight line within filled up into a fine terrace walk—Ladies often catch fish," Peale noticed, "by angling over this terrace wall" (part 2, p. 704). Peale lived in Philadelphia during the two decades of this volume, but, as this comment reveals, he remained curious and concerned about his Maryland birthplace. Other passages—one describing his shopping for a fire engine for Annapolis—record equal curiosity about his adopted home. This dual feature of the volume makes it an essential source for studying middle-Atlantic life between 1791 and 1810. Its research dimensions are countless.

These dimensions include a native son's search for fulfillment in the Enlightenment tradition. Here is the theme binding Peale's papers, those of his family, and other documents into a coherent two-part group extending from Peale's effort to sustain the Philadelphia Museum (founded in 1786) to his initial retirement from it in 1810. The first of the projected eight volumes in the series ranged from Peale's birth in 1741 to 1791; it appeared in 1983. The next installment—tentatively scheduled for publication in 1991, the 250th anniversary of Peale's birth—will cover the period 1811 to 1820, when he returned to the museum.

Peale confidently believed that the museum was his great achievement. Documents in this volume reveal his grand design for it in collections and program. He followed the tradition abroad in general concept, but the unique qualities of the Philadelphia Museum were the scientific organization of specimens in natural history, the extensive representation of manufactures, and the celebration of the American Revolution through portraits of its leaders. Peale's enterprise also differed from European cabinets of curiosities in educational devices like painted habitats in natural history exhibits and in encouraging public access by means of modest admission fees. Peale pioneered in the use of techniques that today's museums use to attract or aid visitors: temporary exhibitions, guide books, lecture courses, musical performances, and newspaper publicity. Concern in our time for public support of museums echoes Peale's remark to James Madison on 21 May 1801: "I am convinced that a vast deal may be done in a permanent way with but a trifling expense" (part 1, p. 307).

Interwoven with information about the museum one finds evidence of Peale's disparate activities on behalf of his country, adopted city, family, friends, and himself. The significance of papers about these interests is extended by correspondence between members of the Peale family and occasional letters from others to them. Peale's newspaper notice in 1794 of his retirement from portraiture in favor of his sons Rembrandt and Raphaelle is typical of still other documents amplifying our information on the artist. Peale fortunately returned to portraiture in oils, miniatures, and profiles—some of them Maryland subjects—which Miller and her colleagues selectively publish in excellent black and white and color illustrations. They document the humble father cheerfully absorbing new ideas about color from Rembrandt while retaining the linear modelling and the frank portrayal that are the essence of his earlier style.

Other topics broadly concern American art history. They range from the founding in Philadelphia of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts to the avid reading of and respect for Sir Joshua Reynolds' *Discourses on Art*.

Peale reveals himself in this publication as improving as a writer as he matures. He is as comfortable communicating with his friend Thomas Jefferson on subjects far from presidential as with the schoolmaster William Collum on the instruction of his sons. Above all, Peale becomes known to us as an intelligent, impractical, entertaining, and loving friend, husband, and father.

The editors' method in this volume, well explained in the first, includes assessing all the known documents and publishing them as Peale and others wrote them. Editorial

clarification appears in brackets. Sketches in the letters are carefully reproduced. Chronology is preserved unless documents relating to one correspondent or subject occur within a short period or clearly form a coherent group. Readers may refer to the microfiche edition of the papers if they wish to verify specific documents. Groups of documents form chapters, each introduced by a brief commentary clearly identifying the theme. Footnotes for each document offer a model of succinct aid to the reader. The detailed index is introduced by a useful concordance of scientific and common names for birds.

Support for this ambitious project by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Andrew Mellon Foundation, and the Smithsonian Institution has been generous, and, in one sense, costly. But the return on the investment will be rich. As Peale said, "a vast deal may be done in a permanent way with but a trifling expense."

MILO M. NAEVE
The Art Institute of Chicago

Gilbert Stuart. By Richard McLanathan. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, in association with The National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1986. Pp. 153. Illustrations, chronology, bibliography, index. $35.)

Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828) is perhaps America's classic painter. Not only was he the creator of this country's most famous icons—the Athenaeum portraits of George and Martha Washington—but his life has entered American mythology. His dilatoriness in completing portraits, his irascibility and his wit, his extravagance and constant indebtedness, and, finally, his capacity to overcome physical debility in his later years and continue to produce portraits of great beauty and insight—are the stuff of biographical drama and fulfill the stereotype of the artistic hero.

This latest biography, produced as a volume in a new series sponsored by the Smithsonian's National Museum of American Art and written by art historian and museum curator Richard McLanathan, does nothing to dispel or add to the Stuart legend. Previous judgments on Stuart's life and work are accepted, anecdotes and stories repeated, and earlier interpretations reiterated. All that is new in this book are the beautifully produced color illustrations, slickly printed on paper so glossy that its shine under lamplight renders reading the very brief text unusually difficult.

Stuart was, as McLanathan admits, "a complex personality" (p. 6), and because he left few letters or documents other than his work—and these, seemingly, have been fully exploited by previous biographers—McLanathan has contented himself with repeating the well known facts of Stuart's life and telling the story in a straightforward but not very original way. His biography follows simple lines. Growing up poor in prosperous Newport, Stuart enjoyed access to luxurious homes and upper-class cultural influences and was encouraged to pursue a demonstrated talent for drawing. The young man was brought to the attention of the minor Scottish painter Cosmo Alexander, who invited him on a painting trip through the South and eventually to Edinburgh. Here in this intellectual center, the author infers, Stuart participated in "learned symposia and elegant receptions," an influence that presumably aroused in him the desire to become "a professional artist" and to live "in a cultivated and graceful style" (pp. 21–22).

Returning to America after experiences marked by unmentionable horrors, Stuart, McLanathan reports, "gradually . . . worked his way from the formulas of Cosmo Alexander toward the searching realism and reduction to essentials that inform his mature productions" (p. 22). How he did this and why, how such traumatic experiences as Stuart is said to have suffered affected the nature of his art—its shortcuts, its coloring, its iconography, its insights—is never satisfactorily explained. We must take for granted that

there is a relationship between bitter experiences and "searching realism." McLanathan makes no attempt to integrate Stuart's experiences with his artistic development, and so we learn very little more about Stuart's art than what has already been published.

To fill out his story and to provide some social context for Stuart's work, McLanathan prefaces each geographical change with a brief description of the society, physical environment, and economy of the cities that Stuart successively visited: Newport, London, Dublin, New York, Washington, Philadelphia, and Boston. The descriptions are pleasant but superficial, and the author makes no attempt to interpret the possible influence on Stuart's art of his various residences, nor is he concerned with exploring the relationship these may have had to changes in Stuart's life, art, and personality.

The best portraits frequently tell us as much about the artist as about the sitter. Since Stuart constantly seesawed between prosperity and hardship, the question of the relationship between his art and the way in which he coped with his volatile existence seems pertinent. Patterns of patronage also played a role in his art. In Dublin, for instance, the shortness of parliamentary sessions meant that he had to work furiously for a few months of the year while potential sitters were in the city and finish the paintings during the remaining months, when his sitters had left for the country. "He found this not only boring but discouraging," reports McLanathan (p. 70)—surely an understatement. Did this pattern of work also influence his format, his choice of accessories, his poses? Did it contribute to the "routine" nature of some of his Irish portraits? What about the more distinguished portraits produced during these Dublin years? Was their distinction the result of the "intelligence and charm" of the sitters (p. 71), or did he have more time, and was the painting situation less pressured? Perhaps we'll never know, but perhaps, too, more research into the lives, habits, and living patterns of Stuart's patrons would answer questions about his work that would be more meaningful than the generalizations in which biographers up to now have indulged.

LILLIAN B. MILLER
Smithsonian Institution, National Portrait Gallery

The Limits of Power: Great Fires and the Process of City Growth in America. By Christine Meisner Rosen. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Pp. xii, 337. Notes, index. $42.50.)

This interesting and well researched book compares the way three American cities—Chicago (1871), Boston (1872), and Baltimore (1904)—were rebuilt after major fires. The book opens with a well informed discussion of the economic, political, and physical structures of the late-nineteenth-century American city, and Rosen emphasizes the many barriers they presented to any agency seeking major improvements in the urban physical environment. There is no question that America's cities were inefficient, congested, unhealthy, and ugly. Rosen's focus on the barriers to improvement stems from her perception that while most municipal leaders saw clearly the need for drastic improvements, they were never able to move at more than a snail's pace. They were restrained by corrupt and inefficient governments, taxpayer fears of higher taxes, the unwillingness of property owners to sacrifice land for civic improvements, antiquated municipal laws—the list is depressingly long. How then, asks Rosen, did city leaders react when great fires levelled over dozens or (in the case of Chicago) hundreds of square blocks? Did this extraordinary, devastating event allow a great leap in redevelopment? To answer this question, she provides detailed case studies.

While the sections on Chicago and Boston are fascinating, readers of this magazine will most likely want to move directly to pages 249–321: the rebuilding of Baltimore. Those who always knew that "Baltimore is Best" appear to have their faith confirmed, at least in

part. In both Chicago and Boston the barriers to innovative redevelopment remained so strong that the burnt districts were rebuilt with relatively few major changes in street plans, open spaces, or physical infrastructure. In Baltimore, however, Rosen found that the traditional barriers were often circumvented by city leaders, and as a result "they went much farther toward achieving planned comprehensive redevelopment than did the residents of either of the other cities" (p. 252).

Before readers become overly smug about the superiority of Baltimoreans, however, they should know that Rosen is quick to put her finger on a major difference between Baltimore and the other two cities. By 1904 Baltimore was in the midst of a municipal revolution associated with the nation-wide Progressive reform movement. While reformers could not dominate the entire post-fire redevelopment process in Baltimore, their power was substantial. They were able to push through comprehensive changes in the physical plant in the burnt district downtown and in other parts of the city as well. Why didn't Chicago or Boston have similar groups of reformers? The most plausible answer might be that their fires simply erupted too soon. Attempts to compare events separated by long periods of time often run into difficulties, and in this instance even the seemingly short period of thirty years between the Chicago and Boston fires (in 1871 and 1872) from the 1904 Baltimore fire would appear to be quite significant, and as a result the comparison is weakened. It could be argued that the redevelopment of Chicago and Boston would have been far more comprehensive and "modern" had those cities suffered their conflagrations in 1904 rather than just a few years after the Civil War. The more satisfactory response of Baltimore may not so much indicate this city's greater civic virtue as measure the progress in urban life and governance that occurred throughout urban America between 1872 and 1904.

In spite of the somewhat questionable comparison between Baltimore and the other two cities, Rosen's discussion of the post-fire redevelopment in each community is by far the best and most thoughtful account we have. In studying Baltimore, she read all the official records and other local sources. She combed carefully through the *Sun,* the *American,* the *World,* and the *Herald.* Her wonderfully detailed story of the battles to widen streets, redevelop the wharf area, tighten the building code, and modernize the utility system provides fascinating insights into the struggles between many of the city's public and private giants.

The attempt to widen Baltimore Street, for example, was a saga in itself. A proposal to widen the north side of the street by twelve feet met with opposition from north-side property holders but was endorsed by business and civic leaders and the Baltimore *Sun.* When this proposal failed, a new ordinance was introduced taking six feet from each side of the street. A number of former supporters whose property abutted the south side of the street (among which was the Sunpapers Company) suddenly lost their civic spirit and opposed the plan. Baltimore Street did not get widened, but a number of other streets were opened up, and the entire downtown area was rebuilt on a larger scale with a more efficient infra-structure.

How large a role the fire played in the overall modernization of Baltimore is a difficult question to answer, and Rosen is cautious in claiming that it was the only major catalyst. Those who have read James B. Crooks, *Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore, 1895–1911* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968) are aware that by the opening of the century, Baltimore's leaders had achieved real progress in developing plans to make Baltimore more attractive and efficient. By 1903 the city's powerful Municipal Art League had in hand a plan developed by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., for a city-wide park system, and the league was also deeply involved in the planning of a comprehensive sewer system. The fire of 1904 simply redirected the attention of this already well established planning group, plus a host of other city leaders, towards the

central business district and the old wharf area that had been "cleared" (to use the 1950s urban renewal phrase). In the early 1870s neither Chicago nor Boston had such organizations, and the phrases "city planning" or "city beautiful" did not exist. By 1904–1905 both cities had strong records of planning—perhaps stronger even than Baltimore's. It is even possible to argue that given the nation-wide impetus for city planning in 1904, Baltimore's response was actually more timid and conservative than one would have expected by that date.

None of these remarks should, however, deter one from reading this fascinating book. The rebuilding of Baltimore's downtown after the 1904 fire is the largest and most dramatic redevelopment of the city's physical landscape prior to the Charles Center-Inner Harbor reconstruction of the past two decades. Nowhere will readers find a more detailed or thoughtful analysis of that post-fire struggle than in the pages of Rosen's fine book.

JOSEPH L. ARNOLD
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Migration and Politics: The Impact of Population Mobility on American Voting Behavior. By Thad A. Brown. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. Pp. xxi, 198. Appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.)

Approximately one of every eight Americans moves at least across county boundaries every year. Historians have demonstrated in the past quarter-century, moreover, that remarkable population mobility goes far back in American history; indeed, Americans were evidently more mobile a century ago than today, and not only because of the movement West. But while extensive geographic mobility long has been a characteristic of American life, its precise effects—social, economic, cultural, political—have been difficult to assess and have typically been addressed more speculatively than empirically. Thus in the area of politics, neither historians nor political scientists have very systematically or rigorously explored the impact of population mobility on voters, parties, elections, or political institutions.

In this important book, Thad A. Brown, a political scientist at the University of Missouri-Columbia, examines the impact of internal migration on voting behavior in modern America. Grounded in the literature and methodology of contemporary political science, Brown focuses not so much on the "macropolitical" effects of migration—the impact on congressional apportionment or national election outcomes, for example—as on the "micropolitical" impact on the voting behavior and political attitudes of the individual migrants themselves. Brown shows that recent migrants tend to be somewhat higher in socioeconomic status and more Republican than nonmigrants. He also traces the major migratory streams of modern America—westward, southward, urban-rural, and rural-urban—and examines the party attachments of those migrants. The migration South, as one example, has contributed to the growth of the GOP in that region. But not all of Brown's findings fit easily into a macropolitical framework of recent electoral trends, and in any case his fundamental concern is micropolitical.

For Brown the central question is what difference, if any, migration makes to the political behavior and attitudes of the people who move from one area to another. His findings challenge the view that pre-migration political socialization produces loyalties and habits that "immunize" migrants against change. The key element in the relationship between migration and individual political behavior, he concludes, is not geographical direction, socioeconomic level, parental partisanship, or party allegiance but rather whether or not migrants move to a political environment that is "congruent" with the one they left. (Brown uses local election results to measure congruency.) For migrants to

congruent political environments, voting behavior and party loyalty seem substantially unchanged; if anything, their pre-migration partisanship seems reinforced. But for migrants to incongruent areas, important changes occur. On the one hand, they tend, over time, to vote in conformity with the partisan complexion of the new area. On the other hand, and somewhat paradoxically, they move toward partisan independence and vote distinctively more on the basis of economic self-interest and individualistic political belief systems than of party or socioeconomic group influences. Family socialization, though a factor in their political behavior, does not prevent political change among migrants, and the effects of migration are greater on younger voters and those with higher levels of political information. Democratic environments seem to have a greater impact on congruent migrants, Republican environments a stronger pull on incongruent migrants.

To the degree that Brown discusses the macropolitical consequences of his findings, he focuses not on electoral coalitions and election outcomes but rather on the "dealignment" of the party system—the deterioration of partisan allegiance and party strength—that political historians and political scientists have found to be a central development in modern American political history. In Brown's view migration has played an important role in the decline of partisanship and the resulting erosion of the American party system. He suggests more generally that migration loosens established political patterns and thus contributes to political change and new political movements.

Migration and Politics is a fascinating book, full of information and findings that have barely been sketched here. Brown addresses an important issue and enlarges our understanding of it. Employing sophisticated quantitative techniques, he explores a variety of evidence, though some of the available data are less than ideal, and both methodology and sources can at times use fuller discussion. Frequent recapitulations and chapter summaries underline the major points and help offset the sometimes opaque social-scientific language. Although *Migration and Politics* is written essentially for specialists, interested general readers will find it a rewarding, if demanding, book.

JOHN W. JEFFRIES
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Books Received

Establishment of the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine makes clear that studying medical advances (and puzzles) almost always means placing them in the fabric of social history. Society influences medical theories just as surely as medical practice shapes society. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox's edited collection *AIDS: The Burdens of History* examines our response to this frightening disease by comparing it to the ways different societies have dealt with epidemics in the past—among them the bubonic plague in Rome in 1656, cholera in Jacksonian New York City, polio in the same city earlier in this century, and venereal disease in twentiety-century Baltimore. Besides Fee and Fox, contributors include Charles E. Rosenberg, medical and social historian at the University of Pennsylvania; Alan M. Brandt, author of *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States since 1880;* David F. Musto, Yale historian, psychiatrist, and student of narcotics addiction in America; and historians of British hospitals and concepts of madness. All these specialists share an interest in how authority, the language and theories of medical professionals, assumptions about gender, and popular notions of deviance act together in stressful circumstances—a theme further highlighted by the volume's abundant illustrations. Fee and Fox offer no easy answers to the AIDS crisis, but they argue that their historical approach offers fresh perspective. "We hope that the work presented in this volume will stimulate discussion and further research," they write, "and that the subjects we were unable to include will soon be addressed by historians who share our interest in the application of their work to contemporary questions of public policy" (p. 11).

University of California, $25, paper $11.95

Congratulations to Robert W. Barnes, who reviews frequently in these pages, upon completion of his latest book, *Baltimore County Families, 1659–1759,* a massive (924 pp.) source on a "parent" county that originally covered parts or all of contemporary Anne Arundel, Carroll, Cecil, and Harford counties. This welcomed addition to modern Maryland family history builds on parish registers, administration bonds and accounts, wills, and inventories, together with court records and deeds as supplementary material. Barnes's earliest subjects came to the country from Southern Maryland and Virginia's eastern shore. By the mid-eighteenth century settlers from Pennsylvania had arrived in large numbers. Others came directly from the British Isles—as indentured servants, transported felons, Jacobite rebels, aspiring yeomen, restless gentry, or ambitious professionals. Barnes's family groups (he ends at 1759 because of the enormity of the task) include three and, in some cases, four generations—an invaluable reference work.

Genealogical Publishing Co., $55

Visitors to George Washington's Mount Vernon may have noticed that looking across the Potomac into Maryland, one sees largely the same pristine greenery that Washington himself beheld in the eighteenth century. This lovely vista—so important to the overall impression one takes from Mount Vernon—remains so because of a determined campaign that a few far-sighted persons undertook in 1957 by establishing the Accokeek Foundation. They included Henry G. Ferguson, Robert Ware Strauss, Charles F. Wagner, and Ohio Congresswoman Frances P. Bolton. They eventually enlisted the aid of President Kennedy's Interior Secretary Morris Udall, Washington State Senator Henry M. Jackson, and natives of the area, notably Marylanders Charles McC. Mathias and Frederick

Gutheim. In *The Possible Dream: Saving George Washington's View,* Straus and his wife, Eleanor B. Straus, chart the achievement of the foundation's principal objective, accomplished through a mix of legislative lobbying, popular education, and an imaginative legal device—the scenic easement. Thanks to the Accokeek Foundation (POB 763, Bowie 20715), Mount Vernon today faces Piscataway National Park and the National Colonial Farm Museum. Here is a small but instructive book whose author will happily speak to interested groups.

Accokeek Foundation, $8

Volume 15 of *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789,* recently published, covers the spring and summer of 1780, when Washington's army endured shortages of food and other supplies; General Lincoln surrendered his troops at Charleston, South Carolina; and the British routed American forces (including Marylanders) at the Battle of Camden. Paul H. Smith, Gerald W. Gawalt, and Ronald M. Gephart, project editors, have sifted through some 22,000 documents in public and private repositories in assembling this volume. Topics of historical interest include pay for continental officers, currency depreciation, quartermaster reform, diplomatic efforts in Madrid and at the Hague, a near-duel between Henry Lee and Thomas Burke, and Benedict Arnold's application for the command of the fort at West Point—which he intended to exchange for hard British currency. Available from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Library of Congress, $37

Volume 8 of the *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (second series), *Records of the Executive Council, 1735–1754,* supplies the minutes and papers of a key element in royal administration. Robert J. Cain, editor, has written a helpful introduction to the volume which joins others in the series on the council and higher courts. Students of colonial North Carolina will be grateful for all of these published primary sources and for the index to each volume.

North Carolina Division of Archives and History, $48

News and Notices

Fourth Annual Maryland Historical Magazine Prize

This year's panel of judges has reported its first three choices from among the articles in the 1988 volume of the magazine—a vote for first-place carrying three points, second-place two, and third-place one.

Richard E. Holl's essay on German prisoners of war in Maryland during World War II took third place. Glenn O. Phillips on Maryland and the Caribbean, Wallace Shugg on Lord Baltimore's rape trial, Gregory A. Stiverson on Maryland's ratification of the Constitution, and Tina H. Sheller on Baltimore artisans and manufacturing the 1780s all tied for second place.

The winner is Roderick N. Ryon of Towson State University for his essay on Baltimore women in the workplace, 1880–1917.

Special thanks to Ms. Edna Kanely of the MdHS Publications and Genealogy committees, Professor Rosalyn Terborg-Penn of Morgan State University, and Professor David Hein of Hood College for their help in judging volume 83. Thanks to our contributors, the task was not an easy one. Congratulations to Professor Ryon and all the finalists.

Unlocking the Secrets of Time: Maryland's Hidden Heritage

"Unlocking the Secrets of Time: Maryland's Hidden Heritage," a conference of the Maryland Humanities Council, offers a program that explores the basic underlying question: how do we know what we know about the past? Where traditional historical conferences and publications present the results of research this program provides an opportunity for the public and scholars to look behind the scenes to examine the clues themselves. A registration fee of $20.00 covers registration for the conference, lunch, refreshments, and a packet of resource materials. The conference is scheduled for Saturday, 4 November 1989 at the Radisson Hotel in Annapolis. For further information and registration forms, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 301/626-4830.

Nominations Open for 1989 Preservation Awards

The search is on for a few good people whose efforts have helped to put historic preservation into the heart and headlines of Maryland. The Maryland Historical Trust, the state's lead agency for historic preservation, has opened nominations for the 1989 Annual Preservation Awards, now in its fourteenth season. Recognition of individual or group efforts in preservation is made annually through the Calvert Prize as well as Project and Service Awards. The Calvert Prize, established in 1975 by the Governor's Office, is presented to an individual whose statewide leadership has lead to great achievement in historic preservation. For additional information contact Thomas Lutz at 301/974-5000.

Walking Tour of Historic Chestertown Offered

The Historical Society of Kent County, Inc. will sponsor its 20th annual Candlelight Walking Tour of Historic Chestertown, Maryland on Saturday, 16 September 1989 from 6 p.m. until 10 p.m., rain or shine. The Candlelight Tour features more than a dozen architecturally significant buildings, most of which date from the 18th century, and which will be open to the public at a charge of $15.00 per person. Brochures describing the tour, along with tickets and additional information may be obtained by contacting Melissa Clarke, Historical Society of Kent County, Inc., P.O. Box 665, Chestertown, Maryland 21260, 301/778-3499.

Prints of Marion E. Warren to be Exhibited

A series of lectures and exhibits of master prints by Marion E. Warren will take place in September and October. On 28 September "Annapolis in Blossom, 1960–1988" can be seen in the Joint Hearing Room of the Legislative Reference Building, 90 State Circle, Annapolis, Maryland. For further information telephone 301/974-3867. "The Chesapeake Bay" will appear in Catonsville on 26 October in the Special Collections Room of the Albin O. Kuhn Library and Gallery at the University of Maryland Baltimore County. For further information telephone 301/455-2346.

The Chew Family Newsletter

This publication concerns information on the Chew and allied families. Published quarterly the newsletter can be obtained at a cost of $15.00 per year. For further information contact Frances Buengle, 6619 Pheasant Road, Baltimore, Maryland 21220.

George Mason Day ay Gunston Hall

On 7 May 1989 the plantation will come to life as it was in May, 1789, with interpreters in authentic costumes of the period playing the roles of George Mason, members of his family, friends, neighbors, and servants. Conversation and activity will focus on Mason's role as a planter and an important shaper of the new government. George Mason is concerned about adding a Bill of Rights to the Constitution which he had helped to write but refused to sign. Visitors may talk with eighteenth-century characters, in addition to watching the history interpretation. Barbecue lunches will be for sale. Several craftsmen will sell their wares. For further information telephone 703/550-9220.

First Federal Congress of the United States Exhibit

The First Federal Congress, 1789–1791, co-sponsored by the 101st United States Congress and the Smithsonian's National Portrait Gallery, to be shown only at the gallery in Washington, D.C., will feature portraits of representative men of the First Congress, some of their wives and certain constituents who had cause to petition the legislature at that time. Included will be portraits of James Madison, Elbridge Gerry, Roger Sherman, George Clymer, Robert Morris, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Richard Henry Lee, as well as others whose likenesses were executed by some of the most eminent American painters and sculptors of the day—Charles Willson Peale, Gilbert Stuart, James Sharples and John Trumbull. Contemporary prints and cartoons, official documents, furnishings and personal letters and belongings will be among the 140 objects displayed. The exhibition will run through 23 July.

Previously Unpublished Congressional Hearings Now Available

Comprehensive access to over 1,100 previously unpublished, undistributed U.S. House of Representatives committee hearings transcripts is available for the first time in a new index and microfiche collection from Congressional Information Service (CIS). The collection contains hearings dating from 1833 through 1936. Some of the hearings were never published because they were classified for national security reasons or held in executive session to discuss matters of short-term sensitivity. Access to the hearings is provided through indexes by subjects and organizations, personal names, bill numbers, and titles. A reference bibliography that contains a hearing's main title, subtitle, date, issuing committee, and subcommittee is also included in the two-volume, clothbound index. The microfiche collection comprises approximately 1,100 transcripts reproduced in their entirety on archival-quality silver halide microfiche. The *CIS Index to Unpublished U.S. House of Representatives Committee Hearings* sells for $695.00; the microfiche is $4890.00. For more information, contact CIS, 4520 East-West Highway, Suite 800-R, Bethesda, Maryland 20814-3389, 800/638-8380.

LEGAL PAPERS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The Illinois Historic Preservation Agency requests assistance in locating any document, record, letter, contemporary printed account or after-the-fact recollection that relates to Abraham Lincoln's entire law practice. All communications should be sent to *The Lincoln Legals,* IHPA Drawer 114, Old State Capitol, Springfield, Illinois 62702, 217/785-9130.

EXHIBIT AT DELAWARE MUSEUM OF ART

The Museum Collects: Contemporary American Art, 1960-present will be exhibited at the museum from 14 July–17 September 1989. It will consist of selections from the museum's growing collection of contemporary art of paintings, sculpture, prints, photographs and crafts. This showing marks the first major exhibition of the museum's contemporary collection.

EXHIBIT TO OPEN AT MINNEAPOLIS INSTITUTE OF ARTS

The American Craftsman and the European Tradition, 1620–1820 exhibit will open on 22 September and run through 31 December 1989. It will compare European and American furniture, glass, silver and ceramics for the first time in a large museum context. The show's intention is to shed new light on two fundamental questions in the study of American art and culture: (1) what constitutes "American-ness" in the early American objects; (2) why did an identifiable American style evolve in the decorative arts. For further information contact Nancy Perron, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 2400 Third Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404, 612/870-3170.

GENEALOGICAL INFORMATION SOUGHT

Seeking genealogical information concerning Harriet (Jones) White, a black woman born in Maryland in 1859 and who died 27 January 1899 in Dames Quarter, Maryland. Daughter of Alfred and Martha Jones. Married Charles White ca. 1879. If you have any information please contact SK2 Charmaine C. White, CFAY Supply Box 40, Code 430, FPO Seattle, Washington 98762-1100.

CORRECTION

A watercolor of the Chatard Plantation appeared on the cover of the fall 1988 issue of the magazine. Glenn O. Phillips and the owner of the painting, Josephine Chatard Whitman, brought to our attention that the artist's name was Nioeaux Feverier.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

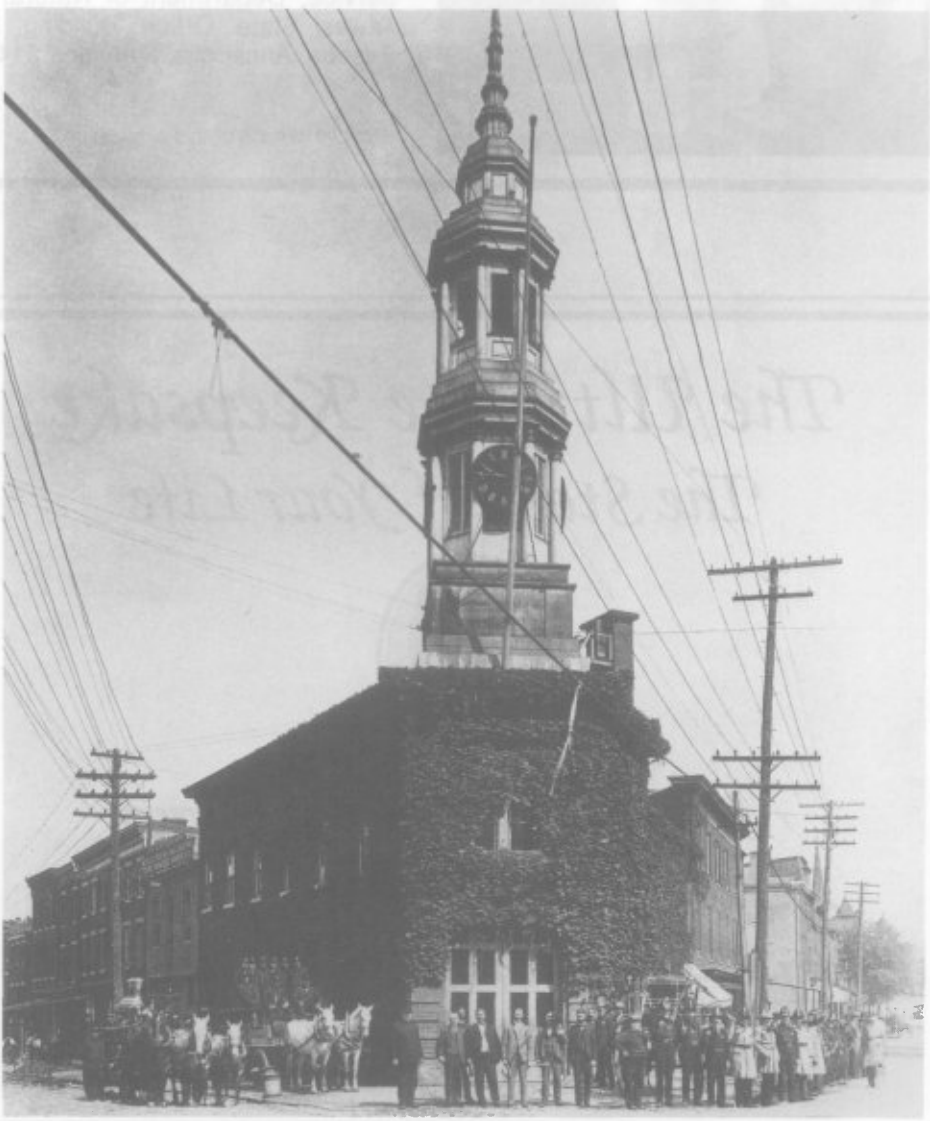
Test your knowledge of Maryland history by identifying this Baltimore scene. Where was this photograph taken? When was it taken? What function did this building serve? Have any changes occurred since this photo was taken?

The spring 1989 Picture Puzzle depicts Lexington Street looking east from Charles Street in 1906, as the city rebuilt following the fire of 1904. The Old Post Office building, razed in 1930, appears on the right behind the courthouse. St. Vincent de Paul Church can be seen on the horizon.

The following people correctly identified the winter 1988 Picture Puzzle: Mr. John Gallagher, Mrs. Edward B. Edelen, E. N. deRussy, J. Howard and Louise H. Adkins, and William Hollifield.

Please send your response to:

Prints and Photographs Division
Maryland Historical Society
201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201



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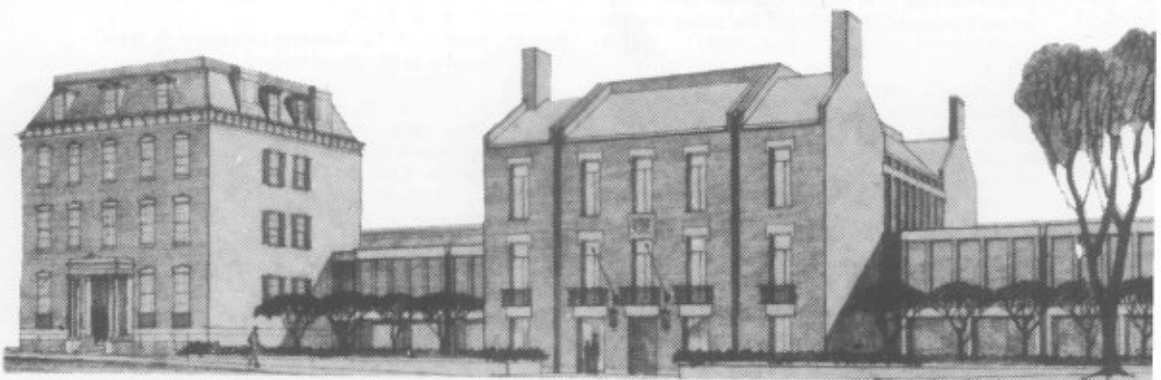

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